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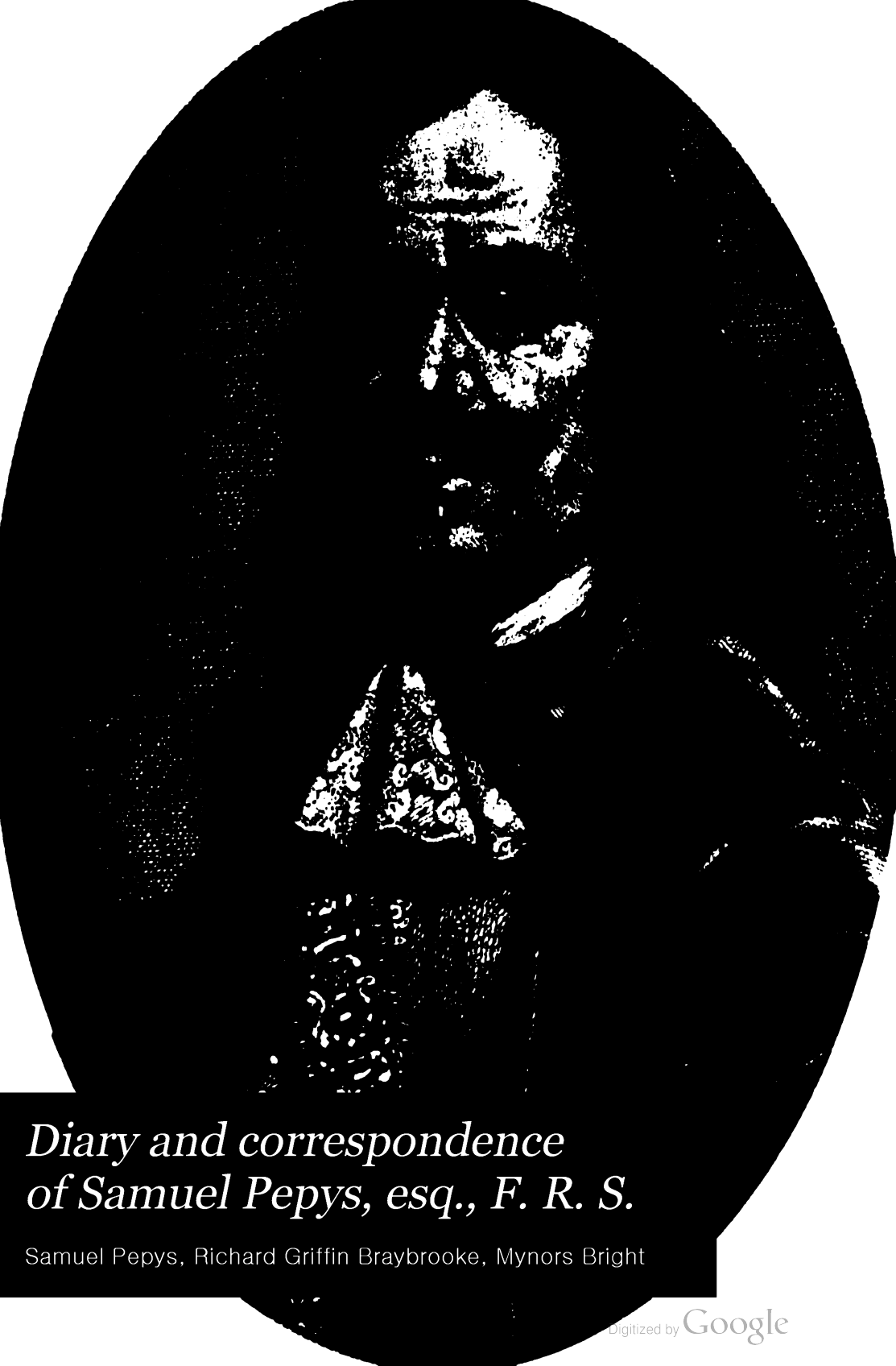
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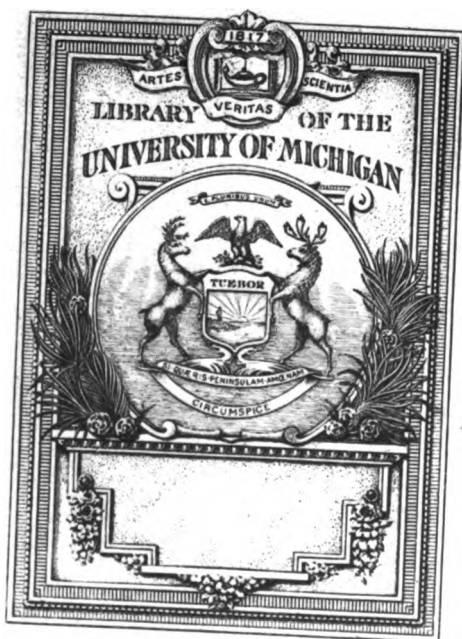
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*Diary and correspondence
of Samuel Pepys, esq., F. R. S.*

Samuel Pepys, Richard Griffin Braybrooke, Mynors Bright



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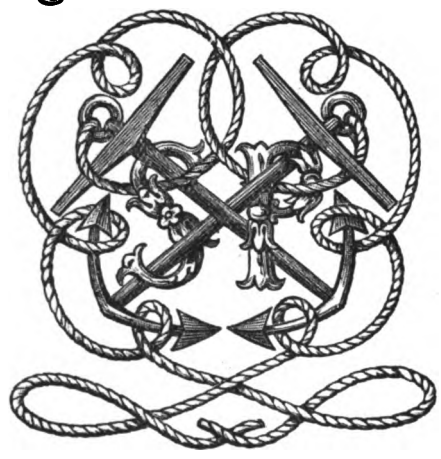
DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF SAMUEL PEPYS,

ESQ., F.R.S.



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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF



Samuel



Pepys,

ESQ., F.R.S.

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FROM HIS MS. CYPHER IN THE PEPYSIAN

LIBRARY, WITH A LIFE AND

NOTES BY

RICHARD LORD BRAYBROOKE.

DECIPHERED, WITH ADDITIONAL

NOTES, BY

REV. MYNORS BRIGHT, M.A.,

SENIOR FELLOW OF MAGDALENE COLLEGE,
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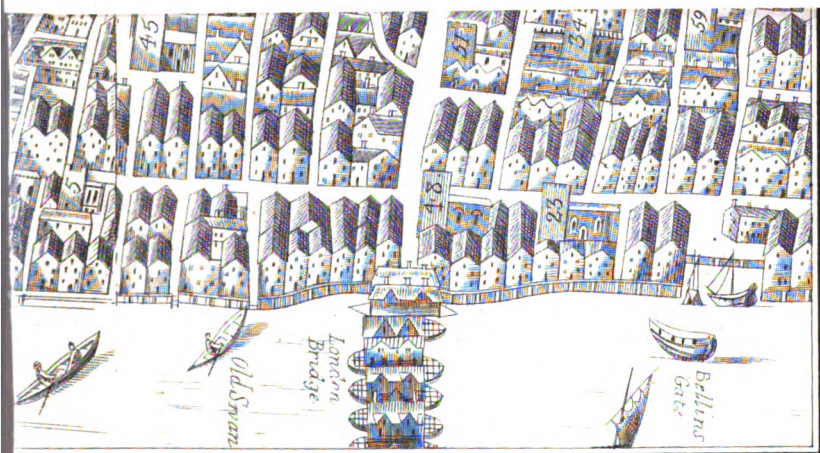
LONDON:

BICKERS AND SON, 1, LEICESTER SQUARE.

1877.



Peters ne
Peters in
Peters in
Peters y
Steven i
Steven i
Swithin
Thomas
Trinitie
Dutch



Stanford's Geog^t Estab^t, 55, Charing Cross.

Peters nere Chepside.
 Peters in Corne hill.
 Peters nere Paules warfe.
 Peters y^e poore nere Brod streete.
 Steven in Coleman streete nere More gate.
 Steven in Wallbrooke.
 Swithins in Canon streete by London stone.
 Thomas y^e Apostle.
 Trinitie Church above Quene Hith.
 Dutch church nere Brod streete.

100. Andrewes in Holborne.
 101. Bartholmew y^e Great
 102. Bartholmew y^e Leeße } nere Smithfeild.
 103. Brides nere Fleete bridge
 104. Böttolpchs nere Aldersgate.
 106. Böttolpchs nere Bishopsgate.
 107. Dunstans West in Fleetstreete.
 112. Sepulchers nere Newgate.
 124. Temple church nere Temple barr.



DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS.

July 1st (Sunday), 1666.

UP betimes, and to the office receiving letters, two or three one after another from Sir W. Coventry, and sent as many to him, being full of variety of business and hurry, but among the chiefest is the getting of these pressed men out of the City down the river to the fleete. While I was hard at it comes Sir W. Pen to towne, which I little expected, having invited my Lady and her daughter Pegg to dine with me to-day; which at noon they did, and Sir W. Pen with them: and pretty merry we were. And though I do not love him, yet I find it necessary to keep in with him; his good service at Shearnesse in getting out the fleete being much taken notice of, and reported to the King and Duke, even from the Prince and Duke of Albemarle themselves, and made the most of to me and them by Sir W. Coventry: therefore I think it discretion, great and necessary discretion, to keep in with him. To the Tower several times, about the business of the pressed men, and late at it till twelve at night, shipping of them. But, Lord! how some poor

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women did cry ; and in my life I never did see such natural expression of passion as I did here in some women's bewailing themselves, and running to every parcel of men that were brought, one after another, to look for their husbands, and wept over every vessel that went off, thinking they might be there, and looking after the ship as far as ever they could by moone-light, that it grieved me to the heart to hear them. Besides, to see poor patient labouring men and housekeepers, leaving poor wives and families, taken up on a sudden by strangers, was very hard, and that without press-money, but forced against all law to be gone. It is a great tyranny.

2nd. Up betimes, and forced to go to my Lord Mayor's, about the business of the pressed men ; and indeed I find him a mean man of understanding and dispatch of any publique business. Thence out of curiosity to Bridewell to see the pressed men, where there are about 300 ; but so unruly that I durst not go among them : and they have reason to be so, having been kept these three days prisoners, with little or no victuals, and pressed out, and, contrary to all course of law, without press-money, and men that are not liable to it. Here I met with prating Colonel Cox, one of the City collonells, heretofore a great presbyter : but to hear how the fellow did commend himself, and the service he do the King ; and, like an asse, at Paul's did take me out of my way on purpose to show me the gate, (the little north gate) where he had two men shot close by him on each hand, and his own hair burnt by a bullet-shot in the insurrection of Venner, and himself escaped. To dinner, and thence to the Excise office by appointment to meet my Lord Bellassis and the Commissioners, which we did and soon dispatched, and so I home, and there was called by Pegg Pen to her house, where her father and

mother, and Mrs. Norton, the second Roxalana,¹ a fine woman, indifferent handsome, good body and hand, and good mine,² and pretends to sing, but do it not excellently. However I took pleasure there, and my wife was sent for. Thence weary of losing so much time I to the office, and thence presently down to Deptford; but to see what a consternation there is upon the water by reason of this great press, that nothing is able to get a waterman to appear almost. I found one of the vessels loaden with the Bridewell birds in a great mutiny, and they would not sail, not they; but with good words, and cajoling the ring-leader into the Tower, (where, when he was come, he was clapped up in the hole,) they were got very quietly; but I think it is much if they do not run the vessel on ground. But away they went, and I to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and having talked with him a little, then home to supper very late and to bed weary.

3rd. To my Lord Treasurer's to have met my Lord Bellassis and Commissioners of Excise, but they did not meet, my Lord being abroad. However Mr. Finch, one of the Commissioners, I met there, and he and I walked two houres together in the garden, talking of many things; sometimes of Mr. Povy, whose vanity, prodigality, neglect of his business, and committing to unfit hands hath undone him and outed him of all his publique employments, and the thing set on foot by an accidental revival of a business, wherein he had three or four years ago, by surprise, got the Duke of York to sign to the having a sum of money paid out of the Excise, before some that was due to him, and now the money is fallen short, and the Duke never likely to be paid. This

¹ The first having been Mrs. Davenport.

² The old orthography for *mien*, countenance. See Nares' Glossary. (M. B.)

being revived hath undone Povy. Then we fell to discourse of the Parliament, and the great men there: and among others, Mr. Vaughan,¹ whom he reports as a man of excellent judgement and learning, but most passionate and opiniastre. He had done himself the most wrong (though he values it not), that is, the displeasure of the King in his standing so long against the breaking of the Act for a triennial parliament; but yet do believe him to be a most loyall gentleman. He told me Mr. Prin's character; that he is a man of mighty labour and reading and memory, but the worst judge of matters, or layer together of what he hath read, in the world; which I do not, however, believe him in; that he believes him very true to the King in his heart, but can never be reconciled to episcopacy; that the House do not lay much weight upon him, or any thing he says. He told me many fine things, and so we parted, and I home and hard to work a while at the office and till midnight about settling my last month's accounts, and to my great joy find myself worth above 5,600*l.*, for which the Lord's name be praised! So with my heart full of content to bed. Newes came yesterday from Harwich, that the Dutch had appeared upon our coast with their fleete, and we believe did go to the Gun-fleete, and they are supposed to be there now; but I have heard nothing of them to-day. Yesterday Dr. Whistler, at Sir W. Pen's, told me that Alexander Broome,² the great song-maker, is lately dead.

4th. Visited very betimes by Mr. Shepley. I out and walked along with him as far as Fleet Streete, it being a fast day, the usual fast for the plague, and few coaches to be had. Thanks be to God, the

¹ See 28th March, 1664.

² He died 30th June, 1666, and was buried, by his own desire, under Lincoln's Inn Chapel, by the side of Prynne.

plague is, as I hear, encreased but two this week; but in the country in several places it rages mightily, and particularly in Colchester, where it hath long been, and is believed will quite depopulate the place. With the Duke, all of us, among other things, discoursing about the places where to build ten great ships; the King and Council have resolved on none to be under third-rates; but it is impossible to do it, unless we have more money towards the doing it than yet we have in any view. But, however, the show must be made to the world. Thence to my Lord Bellassis to take my leave of him, he being going down to the North to look after the Militia there, for fear of an invasion. Thence home, and dined and to the office, where busy all day, and in the evening Sir W. Pen came to me, and we walked together, and talked of the late fight. I find him very plain, that the whole conduct of the last fight was ill; that two-thirds of the commanders of the whole fleete have told him so: they all saying, that they durst not oppose it at the Council of War, for fear of being called cowards, though it was wholly against their judgement to fight that day with the disproportion of force, and then we not being able to use one gun of our lower tier, which was a greater disproportion than the other. Besides, we might very well have staid in the Downs without fighting, or any where else, till the Prince could have come up to them; or at least till the weather was fair, that we might have the benefit of our whole force in the ships that we had. He says three things must be remedied, or else we shall be undone by this fleete.

1. That we must fight in a line, whereas we fight promiscuously, to our utter and demonstrable ruine; the Dutch fighting otherwise; and we, whenever we beat them.
2. We must not desert ships of our own in distress, as we did, for that makes a captain

desperate, and he will fling away his ship, when there are no hopes left him of succour. 3. That ships, when they are a little shattered, must not take the liberty to come in of themselves, but refit themselves the best they can, and stay out—many of our ships coming in with very small disablements. He told me that our very commanders, nay, our very flag-officers, do stand in need of exercising among themselves, and discoursing the business of commanding a fleet; he telling me that even one of our flag-men in the fleet did not know which tack lost the wind, or which kept it, in this last engagement. He says it was pure dismaying and fear that made them all run upon the Galloper, not having their wits about them; and that it was a miracle they were not all lost. He much inveighs upon my discoursing of Sir John Lawson's saying heretofore, that sixty sail would do as much as one hundred; and says that he was a man of no counsel at all, but had got the confidence to say as the gallants did, and did propose to himself to make himself great by them, and saying as they did; but was no man of judgement in his business, but hath been out in the greatest points that have come before them. And then in the business of fore-castles, which he did oppose, all the world sees now the use of them for shelter of men. He did talk very rationally to me, insomuch that I took more pleasure this night in hearing him discourse, than I ever did in my life in any thing that he said.

5th. At noon dined and Mr. Shepley with me, who came to towne the other day. I lent him 30*l.* in silver upon 30 pieces in gold. But to see how apt every body is to neglect old kindnesses! I must charge myself with the ingratitude of being unwilling to lend him so much money without some pawne, if he should have asked it, but he did not aske it, poor

man, and so no harm done. After dinner to Lumbard Streete about money, and then to my office till late, and then a song with my wife and Mercer in the garden, and so with great content to bed.

6th. To Lumbard Streete, in preparation for my having some good sum in my hands, for fear of a trouble in the State, that I may not have all I have in the world out of my hands and so be left a beggar. So to the Tower, about shipping of some more pressed men, and that done, away to Broad Streete, to Sir G. Carteret, who is at a pay of tickets all alone, and I believe not less than one thousand people in the streets. But it is a pretty thing to observe that both there and every where else, a man shall see many women now-a-days of mean sort in the streets, but no men; men being so afraid of the press. I dined with Sir G. Carteret, and after dinner had much discourse about our publique business; and he do seem to fear every day more and more what I do; which is, a general confusion in the State; plainly answering me to the question, who is it that the weight of the warr depends upon? that it is only Sir W. Coventry. He tells me, too, the Duke of Albemarle is dissatisfied, and that the Duchesse do curse Coventry as the man that betrayed her husband to the sea: though I believe that it is not so. Thence to Lumbard Streete, and received 2,000*l.*, and carried it home: whereof 1,000*l.* in gold. The greatest quantity not only that I ever had of gold, but that ever I saw together and is not much above half a 100lb. bag full, but is much weightier. This I do for security sake, and convenience of carriage; though it costs me above 70*l.* the change of it, at 18½*d.* per piece. Being at home, I there met with a letter from Bab Allen,¹ to invite

¹ Mrs. Knipp. See Jan. 5, 1665-6, *ante*.

me to be god-father to her boy, with Mrs. Williams, which I consented to, but know not the time when it is to be. At night a song in the garden and to bed.

7th. Dined at home and Creed with me, he tells me he finds all things mighty dull at Court; and that they now begin to lie long in bed; it being, as we suppose, not seemly for them to be found playing and gaming as they used to be; nor that their minds are at ease enough to follow those sports, and yet not knowing how to employ themselves, (though there be work enough for their thoughts and councils and pains,) they keep long in bed. But he thinks with me, that there is nothing in the world can helpe us but the King's personal looking after his business and his officers, and that with that we may yet do well; but otherwise must be undone: nobody at this day taking care of any thing, nor hath any body to call him to account for it. At night into the garden to my wife and Lady Pen and Pegg. My Lady Pen did give us a tarte and other things and so broke up late and I to bed. It proved the hottest night that ever I was in in my life, and thundered and lightened all night long and rained hard. But, Lord! to see in what fear I lay a good while, hearing of a little noise of somebody walking in the house: so rung the bell, and it was my mayds going to bed about one o'clock in the morning. But the fear of being robbed, having so much money in the house, was very great, and is still so, and do much disquiet me.

8th. (Lord's day.) To church, wife and Mercer and I, in expectation of hearing some mighty preacher to-day, Mrs. Mary Batelier sending us word so; but it proved our ordinary silly lecturer, which made me merry, and she laughed upon us to see her mistake. I expected to have had newes sent me of Knipp's christening to-day; but, hearing

nothing of it, I did not go, though I fear it is but their forgetfulness and so I may disappoint them. To church, after dinner, again, a thing I have not done a good while before, go twice in one day. After church with my wife and Mercer and Tom by water through bridge to the Spring Garden at Fox Hall, and thence down to Deptford and there did a little business, and so back again and to bed.

9th. To Sir G. Downing's, but missed of him. After dinner to my office, where busy till come to by Lovett and his wife, who have brought me some sheets of paper varnished on one side, which lies very white and smooth and, I think, will do our business most exactly, and will come up to the use that I intended them for, and I am apt to believe will be an invention that will take in the world. I have made up a little book of it to give Sir W. Coventry to-morrow, and am very well pleased with it. Home with them, and there find my aunt Wight with my wife come to take her leave of her, being going for the summer into the country; and there was also Mrs. Mary Batelier and her sister, newly come out of France, a black, very black woman, but mighty good-natured people both, as ever I saw. Here I made the black one sing a French song, which she did mighty innocently; and then Mrs. Lovett play on the lute, which she do very well; and then Mercer and I sang; and so, with great pleasure, I left them, having showed them my chamber, and 1,000*l.* in gold, which they wondered at, and given them sweetmeats, and shewn my aunt Wight my father's picture, which she admires. So I left them and to the office, where Mr. Moore came to me and talking of my Lord's family business tells me that Mr. Shepley is ignorantly, we all believe, mistaken in his accounts above 700*l.* more than he can discharge himself of, which is a mighty mis-

fortune, poor man, and may undo him, and yet every body believes that he do it most honestly. I am troubled for him very much. He gone, I hard at the office till night, then home to supper and to bed.

10th. Busy all the morning, and presented Sir W. Coventry with my little book made up of Lovett's varnished paper, which he and the whole board liked very well. At noon home to dinner and then to the office; the yarde being very full of women (I believe above three hundred) coming to get money for their husbands and friends that are prisoners in Holland; and they lay clamouring and swearing and cursing us, that my wife and I were afeard to send a venison-pasty that we have for supper to-night to the cook's to be baked, for fear of their offering violence to it: but it went, and no hurt done. Then I took an opportunity, when they were all gone into the foreyarde, and slipt into the office and there busy all the afternoon, but by and by the women got into the garden, and came all to my closett window, and there tormented me, and I confess their cries were so sad for money, and laying down the condition of their families and their husbands, and what they have done and suffered for the King, and how ill they are used by us, and how well the Dutch are used here by the allowance of their masters, and what their husbands are offered to serve the Dutch abroad, that I do most heartily pity them, and was ready to cry to hear them, but cannot helpe them. However, when the rest were gone, I did call one to me that I heard complaine only and pity her husband and did give her some money, and she blessed me and went away. Anon my business at the office being done I to the Tower to speak with Sir John Robinson, principally about the bad condition of the pressed men for want of clothes, as it is represented from the fleete, and so to provide them shirts and stockings and

drawers. Home, and there find my wife and the two Mrs. Bateliers walking in the garden. I with them till almost 9 at night, and then they and we and Mrs. Mercer, the mother, and her daughter Anne, and our Mercer, to supper to a good venison-pasty and other good things, and had a good supper, and very merry, Mistress Bateliers being both very good-humoured. We sang and talked, and then led them home, and there they made us drink; and, among other things, did show us, in cages, some birds brought from about Bordeaux, that are all fat, and, examining one of them, they are so, almost all fat. Their name is [Ortolans], which are brought over to the King for him to eat, and indeed are excellent things. We parted from them and so home to bed.

11th. By water to Sir G. Downing's, there to discourse with him about the reliefe of the prisoners in Holland; which I did, and we do resolve of the manner of sending them some. So I away by coach to St. James's, and there hear that the Duchesse is lately¹ brought to bed of a boy. By and by called to wait on the Duke, the King being present; and there agreed, among other things, of the places to build the ten new great ships ordered to be built, and as to the relief of prisoners in Holland. And then about several stories of the basenesse of the King of Spayne's being served with officers: they in Flanders having as good common men as any Prince in the world, but the veriest cowards for the officers, nay for the generall officers, as the Generall and Lieutenant-generall, in the whole world. But, above all things, the King did speake most in contempt of the ceremoniousnesse of the King of Spayne, that he do nothing but under some ridiculous form or other. Thence to Westminster Hall and there staid

¹ On the 4th. Charles, Duke of Kendall, died 22nd May, 1667.

a while, and then to the Swan and kissed Sarah, and so home to dinner, and after dinner out again to Sir Robert Viner, and there did agree with him to accommodate some business of tallys so as I shall get in near 2,000*l.* into my own hands, which is in the King's, upon tallys; which will be a pleasure to me, and satisfaction to have a good sum in my own hands, whatever evil disturbances should be in the State; though it troubles me to lose so great a profit as the King's interest of ten per cent. for that money. When I came to the office, I there met with a command from my Lord Arlington, to go down to a galliott at Greenwich, by the King's particular command, that is going to carry the Savoy Envoye over, and we fear that there may be many Frenchmen there on board; and so I have a power and command to search for and seize all that have not passes from one of the Secretarys of State, and to bring them and their papers and everything else in custody. So I to the Tower, and got a couple of musquetiers with me, and Griffen and my boy Tom and so down; and, being come, found none on board but two or three servants, looking to horses and doggs, there on board, and, seeing no more, I staid not long there but away and on shore at Greenwich, the night being late and the tide against us; so, having sent before, to Mrs. Clerke's and there I had a good bed, and well received, the whole people rising to see me, and among the rest young Mrs. Daniel, whom I kissed again and again. So by and by to bed and slept pretty well,

12th. But was up again by five o'clock, and was forced to rise, having much business, and away to the Tower, and thence, having shifted myself, to St. James's, to Goring House, there to wait on my Lord Arlington to give him an account of my night's worke, but he was not up, being not long since mar-

ried:¹ so, after walking up and down the house below,—being the house I was once at Hartlib's² sister's wedding, and is a very fine house and finely furnished,—and then thinking it too much for me to lose time to wait my Lord's rising, I away to St. James's, and so with Sir W. Coventry into London, to the office. And all the way I observed him mightily to make mirth of the Duke of Albemarle and his people about him, saying, that he was the happiest man in the world for doing of great things by sorry instruments. And so particularized in Sir W. Clerke, and Riggs, and Halsey, and others. And then again said that the only quality eminent in him was, that he did persevere; and indeed he is a very drudge, and stands by the King's business. And this he said, that one thing he was good at, that he never would receive an excuse if the thing was not done; listening to no reasoning for it, be it good or bad. But then I told him, what he confessed, that he would however give the man, that he employs, orders for removing of any obstruction that he thinks he shall meet with in the world, and instanced in several warrants that he issued for breaking open of houses and other outrages about the business of prizes, which people bore with either for affection or fear, which he believes would not have been borne with from the King, nor Duke, nor any man else in England, and I thinke he is in the right, but it is not from their love of him, but from something else I cannot presently say. Sir W. Coventry did further say concerning Warcupp, his kinsman, that had the

¹ To Isabella, daughter of Louis de Nassau, Lord of Beverweert, and Count of Nassau, natural son of Prince Maurice. She was sister of the Countess of Ossory; her daughter by Lord Arlington was afterwards first Duchess of Grafton. See 15th Nov. 1666.

² See July 10, 1660.

simplicity to tell Sir W. Coventry, that the Duke did intend to go to sea and to leave him his agent on shore for all things that related to the sea. But, says Sir W. Coventry, I did believe that the Duke of York would expect to be his agent on shore for all sea matters. And then he begun to say what a great man Warcupp was, and something else, and what was that but a great lyer; and told me a story, how at table he did, they speaking about antipathys, say, that a rose touching his skin any where, would make it rise and pimple;¹ and, by and by, the dessert coming, with roses upon it, the Duchesse² bid him try, and they did; but they rubbed and rubbed, but nothing would do in the world, by which his lie was found out then. He spoke contemptibly of Holmes and his mermidons, that came to take down the ships from hence, and have carried them without any necessities, or any thing almost, that they will certainly be longer getting ready than if they had staid here. In fine, I do observe, he hath no esteem nor kindness for the Duke's matters, but, contrarily, do slight him and them; and I pray God the Kingdom do not pay too dear by this jarring; though this blockheaded Duke I did never expect better from. To dinner and thence to the office, where Mrs. Burroughs, my pretty widow, was and so I did her business and sent her away by agreement, and presently I by coach after and took her up in Fenchurch Streete and away through the City, hiding my face as much as I could, but she being mighty pretty and

¹ See Evelyn's Diary, 18th June, 1678: "Lord Stafford rose from table, in some disorder, because there were roses stuck about the fruit when the dessert was set upon the table; such an antipathy, it seems, he had to them as once Lady Selenger also had, and to that degree that, as Sir Kenelm Digby tells us, laying but a rose upon her cheek, when she was asleep, it raised a blister; but Sir Kenelm was a teller of strange things." (M. B.)

² Of Albemarle.

well enough clad, I was not afeard, but only lest somebody should see me and think me idle. I quite through with her, and so into the fields Uxbridge way, a mile or two beyond Tyburne, and then back and then to Paddington, and then back to Lyssen green, a place the coachman led me to (I never knew in my life) and there we eat and drank and so back to Charing Crosse, and there I set her down. All the way most excellent pretty company. I had her lips as much as I would, and a mighty pretty woman she is and very modest and yet kinde in all fair ways. All this time I passed with mighty pleasure, it being what I have for a long time wished for, and did pay this day 5s. forfeite for her company. She being gone, I to White Hall and there to Lord Arlington's, and met Mr. Williamson, and find there is no more need of my trouble about the Galliot, so with content departed, and went straight home and at the office did the most in the wearied and sleepy state I could, and so to supper, and after supper falling to singing with Mercer did however sit up with her, she pleasing me with her singing of "Helpe, helpe," till past midnight and I not a whit drowsy, and so to bed.

13th. To the office where till about noon, then out to the 'Change and so home to dinner. Then out again to Sir R. Viner, and there to my content settled the business of two tallys, so as I shall have 2,000*l.* almost more of my owne money in my hand which pleases me mightily, and so to the office where mighty busy, and then home to supper and to even my Journall and to bed. Our fleete being now in all points ready to sayle, but for the carrying of the two or three new ships which will keepe them a day or two or three more.

14th. Up betimes to the office, to write fair a laborious letter I wrote as from the Board to the Duke of York, laying out our want of money again; and

particularly the business of Captain Cocke's tender¹ of hemp, which my Lord Brouncker brought in under an unknown hand without name. Wherein his Lordship will have no great successe, I doubt. That being done, I down to Thames-streete, and there agreed for four or five tons of corke, to send this day to the fleete, being a new device to make barricados with, instead of junke. By this means I came to see and kiss Mr. Hill's young wife and a blithe young woman she is. So to the office and sent for young Michell and employed him all the afternoon about weighing and shipping off of the corke, having by this means an opportunity of getting him 30 or 40s. To the office very late, very busy and did indeed dispatch much business and so to supper and after a song in the garden, which is now the greatest pleasure I take, and indeed do please me mightily, to bed. This evening I had Davila² brought home to me, and find it a most excellent history as ever I read.

15th. (Lord's day.) To church, where our lecturer made a sorry silly sermon, upon the great point of proving the truth of the Christian religion. Had a good dinner, there comes young Michell and his wife, whom my wife concurs with me to be a pretty woman and with her husband is a pretty innocent couple. Mighty pleasant we were and I mightily pleased in her company and to find my wife so well pleased with them also. After dinner he to the Abbey, and I to White Hall, but met with nobody to discourse with, having no great mind to be found idling there, and be asked questions of the fleete, so walked only through to the Parke, and there, it being mighty hot and I weary, lay down by the canalle, upon the grasse, and slept awhile, and was thinking of

¹ For which Pepys was to receive 500*l*.

² The work referred to is *Storia delle guerre civili di Francia*, by Arrigo Caterino Davila. It is still a very popular book.

a lampoone which hath run in my head this weeke, to make upon the late fight at sea, and the miscarriages there; but other businesses put it out of my head, and so home and there drank a great deale of small beer; and so took up my wife and Betty Michell and her husband, and away into the fields, to take the ayre, as far as beyond Hackny, and so back again, in our way drinking a great deale of milke, which I drank to take away my heartburne. So home and supped and away went Michell and his wife, of whom I stole two or three salutes and so to bed in some pain and in fear of more, which accordingly I met with, for I was in mighty pain all night long, which I impute to the milke that I drank after so much beer, but the cold, to my washing my feet the night before.

16th. A wonderful dark sky, and shower of rain this morning. At Harwich a shower of hail as big as walnuts. In great pain all the morning. Passed the day with Balty, who is come from sea for a day or two before the fight, and I perceive could be willing fairly to be out of the next fight, and I cannot much blame him, he having no reason by his place to be there; however would not have him to be absent, manifestly to avoid being there.

17th. Able to rise to go to the office and there sat but in pain. I went and bought a common riding-cloake for myself, to save my best. It cost me but 30s., and will do my turne mighty well. Thence home and walked in the garden with Sir W. Pen a while, and saying how the riding in the coach do me good, he ordered his to be got ready, and so abroad he and I after 8 o'clock at night, as far almost as Bow, and so back again, and so home to supper and to bed. This day I did bid Balty to agree with —, the Dutch paynter, which he once led me to, to see landskipps, for a winter piece of snow, which indeed is a good

piece, and costs me but 40s., which I would not take the money again for, it being, I think, very good.

18th. To St. James's after my fellows and there did our business, which is mostly every day to complain of want of money, and that only will undo us in a little time. Here, among other things, before us all, the Duke of York did say, that now at length he is come to a sure knowledge that the Dutch did lose in the late engagements twenty-nine captains and thirteen ships. Upon which Sir W. Coventry did publickly move, that if his Royal Highness had this of a certainty, it would be of use to send this down to the fleete, and to cause it to be spread about the fleete, for the recovering of the spirits of the officers and seamen ; who are under great dejectedness for want of knowing that they did do any thing against the enemy, notwithstanding all that they did to us. Which, though it be true, yet methought was one of the most dishonourable motions to our countrymen that ever was made ; and is worth remembering. Thence with Sir W. Pen home, calling at Lilly's, to have a time appointed when to be drawn among the other Commanders of Flags the last year's fight. And so full of work Lilly is, that he was fain to take his table-book out to see how his time is appointed, and appointed six days hence for him to come between seven and eight in the morning. Thence with him home ; and there by appointment I find Dr. Fuller, now Bishop of Limericke, in Ireland ; whom I knew in his low condition at Twickenham,¹ and find the Bishop the same good man as ever ; and in a word, kind to us, and, methinks, one of the comeliest and most becoming prelates in all respects that ever I saw in my life. During dinner comes an acquaintance of his, Sir Thomas Littleton ;² whom

¹ Twickenham, where he kept a school.

² Afterwards made Treasurer of the Navy, in conjunction with

I knew not while he was in my house, but liked his discourse : and afterwards, by Sir W. Pen, do come to know that he is one of the greatest speakers in the House of Commons, and the usual second to the great Vaughan. So was sorry I did observe him no more, and gain more of his acquaintance. Walked to Woolwich, reading "the Rivall Ladys" all the way, and find it a most pleasant and fine writ play.

19th. To the office, where all the morning. Full of wants of money, and much stores to buy, for to replenish the stores, and no money to do it with, nor anybody to trust us without it. So at noon home to dinner, Balty and his wife with us. By and by Balty takes his leave of us, he going away towards the fleete, where he will pass through one great engagement more before he be two days older, I believe. After I was in bed I had a letter from Sir W. Coventry that tells me that the fleete is sailed this morning ; God send us good newes of them !

20th. To White Hall, and there the Duke of York did bid Sir W. Pen to stay to discourse with him and the King about business of the fleete, which troubled me a little, but it was only out of envy, for which I blame myself, having no reason to expect to be called to advise in a matter I understand not. So I away to Lovett's, there to see how my picture goes on to be varnished, a fine Crucifix,¹ which will be very fine ; and here I saw some fine prints, brought from France by Sir Thomas Crew. Lovett did present me with a varnished staffe, very fine and

Sir Thomas Osborne. He was the eldest son of Sir Adam Littleton, of Stoke Milburgh, Salop, who had been created a baronet in 1642. He married Anne, daughter and heir of Edward Lord Littleton, the Lord Keeper, and died in 1681, aged 57. Sir Thomas Littleton, the only son of this match, became Speaker of the House of Commons, and deceased, s. p., in 1709.

¹ This crucifix occasioned Pepys trouble long afterwards, having been brought as evidence that he was a Papist. See *Life*, vol. i.

light to walk with. So home and to dinner, there coming young Mrs. Daniel and her sister Sarah, and dined with us; and old Mr. Hawly, whose condition pities me, he being forced to turne under parish-clerke at St. Giles's, I think at the other end of the towne. Thence I to the office, where busy all the afternoon and in the evening with Sir W. Pen walking in the garden, with whom I am of late mighty great, and it is wisdom to continue myself so, for he is of all the men of the office at present most manifestly usefull and best thought of. He and I supped together upon the seat in the garden and then, he gone, my wife and Mercer came and walked and sang late, and then home to bed.

21st. At noon walked in the garden with Commissioner Pett (newly come to towne), who tells me how infinite the disorders are among the commanders and all officers of the fleete. No discipline: nothing but swearing and cursing, and every body doing what they please; and the Generalls, understanding no better, suffer it, to the reproaching of this Board, or whoever it will be. He himself hath been challenged twice to the field, or something as good, by Sir Edward Spragge and Capt. Seamour. He tells me that captains carry, for all the late orders, what men they please; demand and consume what provisions they please. So that he fears, and I do no less, that God Almighty cannot bless us while we keep in this disorder that we are in: he observing to me too, that there is no man of counsel or advice in the fleete; and the truth is, the gentlemen captains will undo us, for they are not to be kept in order, their friends about the King and Duke, and their own houses, are so free, that it is not for any person but the Duke himself to have any command over them.

22nd. (Lord's day.) Up, and to my chamber, and

there till noon mighty busy, setting many matters, and other things of mighty moment to rights to the great content of my mind, I finding that accounts but a little let go can never be put in order by strangers, for I cannot without much difficulty do it myself. After dinner to them again till about four o'clock and then walked to White Hall, where saw nobody almost, but walked up and down with Hugh May, who is a very ingenious man. Among other things, discoursing of the present fashion of gardens to make them plain, that we have the best walks of gravell in the world, France having none, nor Italy; and our green of our bowling allies is better than any they have. So our business here being ayre, this is the best way, only with a little mixture of statues, or pots, which may be handsome, and so filled with another pot of such or such a flower or greene as the season of the year will bear. And then for flowers, they are best seen in a little plat by themselves; besides, their borders spoil the walks of another garden: and then for fruit, the best way is to have walls built circularly one within another, to the South, on purpose for fruit, and leave the walking garden only for that use. Thence walked through the House, where most people mighty hush and, methinks, melancholy. I see not a smiling face through the whole Court; and, in my conscience, they are doubtfull of the conduct again of the Generalls, and I pray God they may not make their fears reasonable. Guyland is lately overthrown wholly in Barbary by the King of Tafielta. Sir Richard Fanshaw is lately dead¹ at Madrid. The fleete cannot yet get clear of the River, but expect the first wind to be out, and then to be sure they fight. The Queene and Maids of Honour are at Tunbridge.

¹ He died 16th June, 1666.

23rd. Up, and to my chamber doing several things there of moment, and then comes Sympson, the Joyner; and he and I with great pains contriving presses to put my books up in: they now growing numerous, and lying one upon another on my chairs, I lose the use to avoyde the trouble of removing them, when I would open a book. Thence out to the Excise office about business and then home-wards met Colvill, who tells me he has 1,000*l.* ready for me upon a tally; which pleases me, and yet I know not now what to do with it, having already as much money as is fit for me to have in the house, but I will have it. I did also meet Alderman Backewell who tells me of the hard usage he now finds from Mr. Fen, in not getting him a bill or two paid, now that he can be no more usefull to him; telling me that what by his being abroad and Shaw's death he has lost the ball, but that he doubts not to come to give a kicke at it still, and then he shall be wiser and keepe it while he has it. But he says he has a good master, the King, who will not suffer him to be undone,¹ as otherwise he must have been, and I believe him. So home and to dinner, where I confess reflecting upon the ease and plenty that I live in, of money, goods, servants, honour, everything, I could not but with hearty thanks to Almighty God ejaculate my thanks to Him while I was at dinner, to myself. After dinner to the office and there till five or six o'clock and then by coach to St. James's and there with Sir W. Coventry and Sir G. Downing to take the ayre in the Parke. All full of expectation of the fleete's engagement, but it is not yet. Sir W. Coventry says they are eighty-nine men-of-warr, and but one fifth-rate; and that, the Sweepstakes, which

¹ He had reason afterwards to alter his opinion of his "good master, the King," by whom he was ruined. See note, 26th June, 1660. (M. B.)

carries forty guns. They are most infinitely manned. He tells me the *Loyall London*, Sir J. Smith (which, by the way, he commends to be the best ship in the world, large and big), hath above eight hundred men; and moreover takes notice, which is worth notice, that the fleete hath laine now near fourteen days without any demand for a farthing-worth of any thing of any kind, but only to get men. He also observes, that with this excesse of men, nevertheless, they have thought fit to leave behind them sixteen ships, which they have robbed of their men, which certainly might have been manned, and they been serviceable in the fight, and yet the fleete well-manned, according to the excesse of supernumeraries, which we hear they have. At least two or three of them might have been left manned, and sent away with the *Gottenburgh* ships. They conclude this to be much the best fleete, for force of guns, greatnesse and number of ships and men, that ever England did see; being, as Sir W. Coventry reckons, besides those left behind, eighty-nine men of warr, and twenty fire-ships, though we cannot hear that they have with them above eighteen. The French are not yet joined with the Dutch, which do dissatisfy the *Hollanders*, and if they should have a defeat, will undo *De Witt*;¹ the people generally of *Holland* do hate this league with *France*. We cannot think of any business, but lie big with expectation of the issue of this fight, but do conclude that, this fight being over, we shall be able to see the whole issue of the warr, good or bad. So homeward, and walked over the *Parke* (*St. James's*) with Sir G. Downing, and at *White Hall* took a coach, and there to supper with much pleasure and to bed.

24th. Up, and to the office, where little business

¹ Pepys seems to have foreseen the fate of *De Witt*.

done, our heads being full of expectation of the fleet's being engaged, but no certain notice of it. At noon to dinner and after dinner with Mercer (as of late my practice is) a song and so to the office and busy very late, till midnight, drawing up a representation of the state of my victualling business to the Duke, I having never appeared to him doing anything yet and therefore I now do it in writing, I now having the advantage of having had two fleets dispatched in better condition than ever any fleets were yet, I believe; at least, with least complaint, and by this means I shall with the better confidence get my bills out for my salary.

25th. By hackney coach to St. James's, where the Duke is gone abroad with the King to the Parke, but anon came back to White Hall, and we, after an hour's waiting, walked thither. At White Hall we find the Court gone to Chappell, it being St. James's-day. And by and by, while they are at chappell, and we waiting chappell being done, come people out of the Parke, telling us that the guns are heard plainly. And so every body to the Parke, and by and by the chappell done, and the King and Duke into the bowling-green, and upon the leads, whither I went, and there the guns were plain to be heard; though it was pretty to hear how confident some would be in the loudnesse of the guns, which it was as much as ever I could do to hear them. By and by the King to dinner, and I waited there his dining; but, Lord! how little I should be pleased, I think, to have so many people crowding about me; and among other things it astonished me to see my Lord Barke-shire¹ waiting at table, and serving the King drink, in that dirty pickle as I never saw man in my life. Here I met Mr. Williams, who would have me to

¹ Thomas Howard, second son of Thomas, first Earl of Suffolk, created Earl of Berkshire, 1625-26, K.G. Ob. 1669, aged nearly 90.

dine where he was invited to dine, at the Backestayres. So after the King's meat was taken away, we thither; but he could not stay, but left me there among two or three of the King's servants, where we dined with the meat that came from his table; which was most excellent, with most brave drink cooled in ice (which at this hot time was welcome), and I drinking no wine, had metheglin for the King's owne drinking, which did please me mightily.

26th. To the office where all the morning. At noon dined at home: Mr. Hunt and his wife, who is very gallant, and newly come from Cambridge, because of the sicknesse, with us. Very merry at table, and the people I do love mightily, but being in haste to go to White Hall I rose, and Mr. Hunt with me and by coach thither, where I left him in the boarded gallery, and I by appointment to attend the Duke of York at his closett, but being not come, Sir G. Carteret and I did talke together, and he advises me, that, if I could, I would get the papers of examination touching the business of the last year's prizes, which concern my Lord Sandwich, out of Warcupps's hands, who being now under disgrace and poor, he believes may be brought easily to part with them. My Lord Crew, it seems, is fearfull yet that matters may be enquired into. This I will endeavour to do, though I do not thinke it signifies much. By and by the Duke of York comes and we had a meeting and, among other things, I did read my declaration of the proceedings of the Victualling action this yeare, and desired his Royall Highnesse to give me the satisfaction of knowing whether his Royall Highnesse were pleased therewith. He told me he was, and that it was a good account, and that the business of the Victualling was much in a better condition than it was the last yeare; which did much joy me, being said in the company of my fellows,

by which I shall be able with confidence to demand my salary and the rest of the subsurveyors. Thence away mightily satisfied to Mrs. Pierce's, there to find my wife. Mrs. Pierce has lain in of a boy about a month. The boy is dead this day. She lies in good state, and very pretty she is, but methinks do every day grow more and more great, and a little too much, unless they get more money than I fear they do. Thence with my wife and Mercer to my Lord Chancellor's new house, and there carried them up to the leads, where I find my Lord Chamberlain, Lauderdale, Sir Robert Murray, and others, and do find it the most delightfull place for prospect that ever was in the world, and even ravishing me, and that is all, in short, I can say of it. Thence to Islington to our old house and eat and drank, and so round by Kingsland home and there to the office a little and Sir W. Batten's, but no newes at all from the fleete and so home to bed.

27th. At noon dined at home and then to the office again and there walking in the garden with Captain Cocke till 5 o'clock. His great bargaine of Hempe with us by his unknown proposition is disliked by the King, and so is quite off; of which he is glad, by this means being rid of his obligation to my Lord Brouncker, which he was tired with, and especially his mistresse, Mrs. Williams, and so will fall into another way about it, wherein he will advise only with myself, which do not displease me, and will be better for him and the King too. Much common talke of publique business, the want of money, the uneasinesse that Parliament will find in raising any, and the ill condition we shall be in if they do not, and his confidence that the Swede is true to us, but poor, but would be glad to do us all manner of service in the world. He gone, I away by water from the Old Swan to White Hall. The waterman

tells me that newes is come that our ship Resolution is burnt, and that we had sunke four or five of the enemy's ships. To Sir W. Coventry's lodging, and there he showed me Captain Talbot's letter, wherein he says that the fight begun on the 25th; that our White squadron begun with one of the Dutch squadrons, and then the Red with another, so hot that we put them both to giving way, and so they continued in pursuit all the day, and as long as he stayed with them: that the Blue fell to the Zealand squadron; and after a long dispute, he against two or three great ships, he received eight or nine dangerous shots, and so came away; and says, he saw the Resolution burned by one of their fire-ships, and four or five of the enemy's. But says that two or three of our great ships were in danger of being fired by our owne fire-ships, which Sir W. Coventry nor I cannot understand. But upon the whole, he and I walked two or three turns in the Parke under the great trees, and do doubt that this gallant is come away a little too soon, having lost never a mast nor sayle. And then we did begin to discourse of the young gentlemen captains, which he was very free with me in speaking his mind of the unruliness of them; and what a losse the King hath of his old men, and now of this Hannam, of the Resolution, if he be dead, and that there is but few old sober men in the fleete and if these few of the Flags that are so should die, he fears some other gentlemen-captains will get in, and then what a council we shall have, God knows. He told me how he is disturbed to hear the commanders at sea called cowards here on shore, and that he was yesterday concerned publicly at a dinner to defend them, against somebody that said that not above twenty of them fought as they should do, and indeed it is derived from the Duke of Albemarle himself who wrote so to the King and Duke,

and that he told them how they fought four days, two of them with great disadvantage. The Count de Guiche,¹ who was on board De Ruyter, writing his narrative home in French of the fight, do lay all the honour that may be upon the English courage above the Dutch, and that he himself (Sir W. Coventry) was sent down from the King and Duke of York after the fight, to pray them to spare none that they thought had not done their parts, and that they have removed but four, whereof Du Tell is one, of whom he would say nothing; but, it seems, the Duke of York hath been much displeased at his removal, and hath now taken him into his service,² which is a plain affront to the Duke of Albemarle; and two of the others, Sir W. Coventry did speake very slenderly of their faults. Only the last, which was old Teddman, he says, is in fault, and hath little to excuse himself with; and that, therefore, we should not be forward in condemning men of want of courage, when the Generalls, who are both men of metal, and hate cowards, and had the sense of our ill successe upon them (and by the way must either let the world thinke it was the miscarriage of the Captains or their owne conduct) have thought fit to remove no more of them, when desired by the King and Duke of York to do it, without respect to any favour any of them can pretend to in either of them. At last we concluded that we never can hope to beat the Dutch with such advantage as now in number and force and a fleete in want of nothing, and he has often repeated now and at other times industriously that

¹ Eldest son of the Duke de Grammont.

² As Yeoman of the Cellar and Cup-bearer. This most improper step of the Duke of York is alluded to in the "Poems on State Affairs," vol. i. p. 36, ed. 1703:—

"Cashier the memory of Dutell, raised up
To taste, instead of death, his Highness' cup."

many of the Captains have declared that they want nothing, and again, that they did lie ten days together at the Nore without demanding of any thing in the world but men, and of them they afterward, when they went away, the generalls themselves acknowledge that they have permitted several ships to carry supernumeraries, but that if we do not speede well, we must then play small games and spoile their trade in small parties. And so we parted, and I, meeting Creed in the Parke again, did take him by coach and to Islington, thinking to have met my Lady Pen and wife, but they were gone, so we eat and drank and away back, setting him down in Cheapside and I home, and there after a little while making of my tune, "It is decreed," to bed.

28th. Up, and to the office, where no more newes of the fleete than was yesterday. Here we sat and at noon to dinner to the Pope's Head, where my Lord Brouncker and his mistresse dined and Commissioner Pett, Dr. Charleton,¹ and myself, entertained with a venison pasty by Sir W. Warren. Here very pretty discourse of Dr. Charleton's, concerning Nature's fashioning every creature's teeth according to the food she intends them; and that men's, it is plain, was not for flesh, but for fruit, and that he can at any time tell the food of a beast unknown by the teeth. My Lord Brouncker made one or two objections to it that creatures find their food proper for their teeth rather than that the teeth were fitted for the food, but the Doctor, I think, did well observe that creatures do naturally and from the first, before they have had experience to try, do love such a food rather than another, and that all children love fruit, and none brought to flesh, but against

¹ Walter Charleton, a native of Somersetshire, physician in ordinary to Charles II. during his exile and after the Restoration. He was a learned and voluminous author, and died in 1707.

their wills at first. Thence with my Lord to his coach-house, and there put in his six horses into his coach, and he and I alone to Highgate. All the way going and coming I learning of him the principles of Optics, and what it is that makes an object seem less or bigger and how much distance do lessen an object and that it is not the eye at all, or any rule in optics, that can tell distance, but it is only an act of reason comparing of one mark with another, which did both please and inform me mightily. Being come thither we went to my Lord Lauderdale's house¹ to speake with him, about getting a man at Leith to joyne with one we employ to buy some prize goods for the King; we find him and his lady and some Scotch people at supper. Pretty odd company; though my Lord Brouncker tells me, my Lord Lauderdale is a man of mighty good reason and judgement. But at supper there played one of their servants upon the viallin some Scotch tunes only; several, and the best of their country, as they seemed to esteem them, by their praising and admiring them: but, Lord! the strangest ayre that ever I heard in my life, and all of one cast. But strange to hear my Lord Lauderdale say himself that he had rather hear a cat mew, than the best musique in the world; and the better the musique, the more sicke it makes him; and that of all instruments, he hates the lute most, and next to that, the bagpipe. Thence back with my Lord to his house, all the way good discourse, informing myself about optics still, and there left him and by a hackney home, and after writing three or four letters, home to supper and to bed.

¹ Lord Lauderdale's house was on the eastern part of Highgate Hill, and is still known by that name. It was lately inhabited by Lord Westbury; it is now the residence of James Yates, Esq., of Liverpool.

29th. (Lord's day.) All the morning in my chamber making up my accounts in my book with my father and brother and stating them. Towards noon before sermon was done at church comes newes by a letter to Sir W. Batten, to my hand, of the late fight, which I sent to his house, he at church. But, Lord ! with what impatience I staid till sermon was done, to know the issue of the fight, with a thousand hopes and fears and thoughts about the consequences of either. At last sermon is done and he came home, and the bells immediately rung soon as the church was done. But coming to Sir W. Batten to know the newes, his letter said nothing of it ; but all the towne is full of a victory. By and by a letter from Sir W. Coventry tells me that we have the victory. Beat them into the Weelings ; had taken two of their great ships ; but by the orders of the Generalls they are burned. This being, methought, but a poor result after the fighting of two so great fleetes, and four days having no tidings of them, I was still impatient ; but could know no more. So away home to dinner, where Mr. Spong and Reeves dined with me by invitation. After dinner to our business of my microscope to be shown some of the observables of that, and then down to my office to looke in a darke room with my glasse and tube, and most excellently things appeared indeed beyond imagination. This was our worke all the afternoon trying the several glasses and several objects, among others, one of my plates where the lines appeared so very plain that it is not possible to thinke how plain it was done. Thence satisfied exceedingly with all this we home and to discourse many pretty things and then they away and I to Sir W. Batten, where the Lieutenant of the Tower¹ was, and Sir John

¹ Sir John Robinson.

Minnes, and the newes I find no more or less than what I had heard before ; only that our Blue squadron, it seems, was pursued the most of the time, having more ships, a great many, than its number allotted to its share. Young Seamour is killed, the only captain slain. The Resolution burned ; but, as they say, most of her crew and commander saved. This is all, only we keep the sea, which denotes a victory, or at least that we are not beaten ; but no great matters to brag of, God knows.

30th. Up, and did some business in my chamber, then by and by comes my boy's Lute-Master and I did direct him hereafter to begin to teach him to play his part on the Theorbo, which he will do, and that in a little time I believe. So to the office, and there with Sir W. Warren, with whom I have spent no time a good while. We set right our business of the Lighters, wherein I thinke I shall get 100%. At noon home to dinner and there did practise with Mercer one of my new tunes that I have got Dr. Childe to set me a base to and it goes prettily. Thence abroad to pay several debts at the end of the month, and so to Sir W. Coventry, at St. James's, where I find him in his new closett, which is very fine, and well supplied with handsome books. I find him speak very slightly of the late victory : dislikes their staying with the fleete up their coast, believing that the Dutch will come out in fourteen days, and then we with our unready fleete, by reason of some of the ships being maymed, shall be in bad condition to fight them upon their owne coast : is much dissatisfied with the great number of men, and their fresh demands of twenty-four victualling ships, they going out but the other day as full as they could stow. I asked him whether he did never desire an account of the number of supernumeraries, as I have done several ways, without which we shall be in



great error about the victuals; he says he has done it again and again, and if any mistake should happen they must thanke themselves. He spoke slightly of the Duke of Albemarle, saying, when De Ruyter came to give him a broadside—"Now," says he, chewing of tobacco the while, "will this fellow come and give me two broadsides, and then he will run;" but it seems he held him to it two hours, till the Duke himself was forced to retreat to refit, and was towed off, and De Ruyter staid for him till he came back again to fight. One in the ship saying to the Duke, "Sir, methinks De Ruyter hath given us more than two broadsides;"—"Well," says the Duke, "but you shall find him run by and by," and so he did, says Sir W. Coventry; but after the Duke himself had been first made to fall off. The Resolution had all brass guns, being the same that Sir J. Lawson had in her in the Straights. It is observed, that the two fleetes were even in number to one ship. Thence home; and to sing with my wife and Mercer in the garden; and coming in I find my wife plainly dissatisfied with me, that I can spend so much time with Mercer, teaching her to sing, and could never take the pains with her. Which I acknowledge; but it is because that the girl do take musique mighty readily, and she do not, and musique is the thing of the world that I love most, and all the pleasure almost that I can now take. So to bed in some little discontent, but no words from me.

31st. Good friends in the morning and up to the office. While at table we were mightily joyed with newes brought by Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten of the death of De Ruyter, but when Sir W. Coventry came, he told us there was no such thing, which quite dashed me again, though, God forgive me! I was a little sorry in my heart before lest it might give occasion of too much glory to the Duke of

Albemarle. Great bandying this day between Sir W. Coventry and my Lord Brouncker about Captain Cocke, which I am well pleased with, while I keepe from any open relyance on either side, but rather on Sir W. Coventry's. At noon had a haunch of venison boiled and a very good dinner besides, there dining with me on a sudden invitation the two mayden sisters, Bateliers, and another elder brother, a pretty man, understands and well discoursed, much pleased with his company. Having dined myself I rose to go to a Committee of Tangier, and did come thither time enough to meet Povy and Creed and none else. The Court being empty, the King being gone to Tunbridge, and the Duke of York a-hunting. I had some discourse with Povy, who is mightily discontented, I find, about his disappointments at Court; and says, of all places, if there be hell, it is here. No faith, no truth, no love, nor any agreement between man and wife, nor friends. He would have spoke broader, but I put it off to another time; and so parted. Povy discoursed with me about my Lord Peterborough's 50*l.* which his man did give me from him, the last year's salary I paid him, which he would have Povy pay him again; but I have not taken it to myself yet, and therefore will most heartily return him, and mark him out for a coxcomb. Povy went down to Mr. Williamson's, and brought me up this extract out of the Flanders' letters to-day come:— That Admiral Everson, and the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of Freezeland, with many captains and men, are slain; that De Ruyter is safe, but lost 250 men out of his own ship; but that he is in great disgrace, and Trump in better favour; that Bankert's ship is burned, himself hardly escaping with a few men on board De Haes; that fifteen captains are to be tried the seventh of August; and that the hangman was sent from Flushing to assist the Council of Warr.

How much of this is true, time will show. Then by water home, all the way reading the narrative of the last fight in order, it may be, to the making some marginal notes upon it. At the Old Swan found my Betty Michell at the doore, where I staid talking to her a pretty while, it being dusky, and kissed her and so away home and wrote my letters and then home to supper, where the brother and Mary Batelier are still and Mercer's two sisters. They have spent the time dancing this afternoon and we were very merry and then after supper into the garden and there walked and then home with them and then back again, my wife and I and the girle, and sang in the garden and then to bed. Colvill was with me this morning and to my great joy I could now have all my money in, that I have in the world. But the times being open again, I thinke it is best to keepe some of it abroad. Mighty well and end this month in content of mind and body. The publique matters looking more safe for the present than they did, and we having a victory over the Dutch just such as I could have wished, and as the kingdom was fit to bear, enough to give us the name of conquerors, and leave us masters of the sea, but without any such great matters done as should give the Duke of Albemarle any honour at all, or give him cause to rise to his former insolence. ✓

August 1st. Up betimes to the settling of my last month's accounts, and I bless God I find them very clear, and that I am worth 5,700*l.*, the most that ever my book did yet make out. So prepared to attend the Duke of York as usual, but Sir W. Pen, just as I was going out, comes home from Sheernesse, and held me in discourse about publique business, till I came by coach too late to St. James's, and there find that every thing stood still, and nothing done for want of me. Thence walked over the Parke with

Sir W. Coventry, who I clearly see is not thoroughly pleased with the late management of the fight, nor with any thing that the Generalls do ; only is glad to hear that De Ruyter is out of favour, and that this fight hath cost them 5,000 men, as they themselves do report. And it is a strange thing, as he observes, how now and then the slaughter runs on one hand ; there being 5,000 killed on theirs, and not above 400 or 500 killed and wounded on ours, and as many flag-officers on theirs as ordinary captains in ours ; these being Everson, and the Admiral and Vice-Admiral of Freezeland on theirs, and Seamour, Martin, and ———, on ours. I left him going to Chappell, it being the common fast day, and the Duke of York at Chappell. So home, and there much pleased with my wife's drawing to-day in her pictures.

2nd. To the office, where we sat and in discourse at the table with Sir W. Batten, I was obliged to tell him it was an untruth, which did displease him mightily, and parted at noon very angry with me. At home find Lovett, who showed me my crucifix, which will be very fine when done. He dined with me and Balty's wife, who is in great pain for her husband, not hearing of him since the fight ; but I understand he was not in it, going hence too late, and I am glad of it. Hence by coach to see my Lord Brouncker, who it seems was not well yesterday, but being come thither, I find his coach ready to carry him abroad, but Tom, his footman, whatever the matter was, was lothe to desire me to come in, but I walked a great while in the Piazza till I was going away, but by and by my Lord himself comes down and coldly received me. So I soon parted, having enough for my over officious folly in troubling myself to visit him, and I am apt to think that he was fearfull that my coming was out of de-

sign to see how he spent his time rather than to enquire after his health. So parted, and he carried me down to the New Exchange Stairs, and there I took water. So home, and then down to Woolwich, reading and making an end of the Rivall Ladys, and I find it a very pretty play. At Woolwich, it being now night, I find my wife and Mercer, and Mr. Batelier and Mary there, and a supper getting ready. So I staid, in some pain, it being late, and post night. So supped and merrily home, but it was twelve at night first. However, sent away some letters, and home to bed.

3rd. To the office, where Sir W. Batten and I sat to contract for some fireships. I there close all the morning. At noon home to dinner, and then abroad to Sir Philip Warwick at White Hall about Tangier Quarter's tallys, and there had some serious discourse touching money, and the case of the Navy, wherein all I could get of him was that we had the full understanding of the treasure as much as my Lord Treasurer himself, and knew what he can do, and that whatever our case is, more money cannot be got till the Parliament. So talked of getting an account ready as soon as we could to give the Parliament, and so very melancholy parted. So home, and busy till night, and then to Sir W. Pen, with my wife, to sit and chat, and a small supper, and home to bed. The death of Everson, and the report of our success, beyond expectation, in the killing of so great a number of men, hath raised the estimation of the late victory considerably ; but it is only among fools : for all that was but accidental. But this morning, getting Sir W. Pen to read over the Narrative with me, he did sparingly, yet plainly, say that we might have intercepted their Zealand squadron coming home, if we had done our parts ; and more, that we

might have spooned¹ before the wind as well as they, and have overtaken their ships in the pursuit, in all the while.

4th. Mr. Cooke dined with us, who is lately come from Hinchinbroke. The family all well. This evening, Sir W. Pen came into the garden, and walked with me, and told me that he had certain notice that at Flushing they are in great distraction. De Ruyter dares not come on shore for fear of the people; nor any body open their houses or shops for fear of the tumult: which is a very good hearing.

5th. (Lord's day.) To St. James's, and there had a meeting before the Duke of York, complaining of want of money, but nothing done to any purpose for which we ask, so that now our advices to him signify nothing. Here Sir W. Coventry did acquaint the Duke of York how the world do discourse of the ill method of our books, and that we would consider how to answer any enquiry which shall be made after our practice therein, which will I think concern the Controller most, but I shall make it a memento to myself. Thence walked to the Parish Church to have one look upon Betty Michell, and so away homeward by water, and landed to go to the church, where, I believe, Mrs. Horsely goes, by Merchant-tailors' Hall, and there I find in the pulpit Elborough,² my old schoolfellow and a simple rogue, and yet I find him preaching a very good sermon, and in as right a parson-like manner, and in good manner too, as I have heard any body; and the church very full, which is a surprising consideration. So home, and had a good dinner, and after dinner with my wife, and Mercer, and Jane by water, all the afternoon up as high as Mortlake with great pleasure, and a fine

¹ To spoom, or spoon, is to go right before the wind, without any sail.—*Sea Dictionary*, 1708.

² See 2nd September, 1666.

day, reading over the second part of the Siege of Rhodes, with great delight. We landed and walked at Barne-elves, and then at the Neat Houses I landed and bought a millon, and we did also land and eat and drink at Wandsworth, and so to the Old Swan, and thence walked home. It being a mighty fine cool evening, my wife and I spent an houre in the garden talking of our living in the country, when I shall be turned out of the office, as I fear the Parliament may find faults enough with the office to remove us all, and I am joyed to think in how good a condition I am to retire thither, and have wherewith very well to subsist. Nan, at Sir W. Pen's, lately married to one Markeham, a kinsman of Sir W. Pen's, a pretty wench she is.

6th. To the office a while, and then by water to my Lady Montagu's, at Westminster, and there visited my Lord Hinchinbroke, newly come from Hinchinbroke, and find him a mighty sober gentleman, to my great content. In Fenchurch-streete met with Mr. Battersby; says he, "Do you see Dan Rawlinson's¹ door shut up?" (which I did, and wondered.) "Why," says he, "after all the sickness, and himself spending all the last year in the country, one of his men is now dead of the plague, and his wife and one of his mayds sicke, and himself

¹ In the church of St. Dionis Backchurch, amongst other memorials of different members of his family, is a monument on a pillar for Daniel Rawlinson, the person mentioned in the text. He was a London wine merchant, descended from the Graisdales of Lancashire, born in this parish, and died in 1679, aged 65. He was the father of Sir Thomas Rawlinson, President of Bridewell Hospital, and Lord Mayor in 1706; two of whose sons, Thomas and Richard, LL.D., were well known in the literary world as eminent antiquaries and book collectors, though their extensive libraries were ultimately consigned to the hammer. Richard, who had been educated at St. John's College, Oxford, will long be remembered as a munificent benefactor to that university.—See MALCOLM'S *London*, vol. iii. p. 438, edit. 1803.

shut up ;" which troubles me mightily. So home ; and there do hear also from Mrs. Sarah Daniel, that Greenwich is at this time much worse than ever it was, and Deptford too : and she told us that they believed all the towne would leave the towne and come to London ; which is now the receptacle of all the people from all infected places. God preserve us ! After dinner in comes Mrs. Knipp, and I being at the office went home to her, and there I sat and talked with her, it being the first time of her being here since her being brought to bed. I very pleasant with her ; but I perceive my wife hath no great pleasure in her being here, she not being pleased with my kindnesse to her. However, we talked and sang, and were very pleasant. By and by comes Mr. Pierce and his wife, the first time she also hath been here since her lying-in, both having been brought to bed of boys, and both of them dead. And here we talked, and were pleasant, only my wife in a chagrin humour, she not being pleased with my kindnesse to either of them, and by and by she fell into some silly discourse wherein I checked her, which made her mighty pettish, and discoursed mighty offensively to Mrs. Pierce, which did displease me, but I would make no words, but put the discourse by as much as I could (it being about a report that my wife said was made of herself and meant by Mrs. Pierce, that she was grown a gallant, when she had but so few suits of clothes these two or three years, and a great deale of that silly discourse), and by and by Mrs. Pierce did tell her that such discourse should not trouble her, for there went as bad on other people, and particularly of herself at this end of the towne, meaning my wife, that she was crooked, which was quite false, which my wife had the wit not to acknowledge herself to be the speaker of, though she has said it twenty times. But by this

means we had little pleasure in their visit ; however, Knipp and I sang, and then I offered them to carry them home, and to take my wife with me, but she would not go : so I with them, leaving my wife in a very ill humour, and very slighting to them, which vexed me. However, I would not be removed from my civility to them, but sent for a coach, and went with them ; and, in our way, Knipp saying that she came out of doors without a dinner to us, I took them to Old Fish Streete, to the very house and woman where I kept my wedding dinner,¹ where I never was since, and there I did give them a jole of salmon, and what else was to be had. And here we talked of the ill-humour of my wife, which I did excuse as much as I could, and they seemed to admit of it, but did both confess they wondered at it ; but from thence to other discourse, and among others to that of my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams, who it seems do speake mightily hardly of me for my not treating them, and not giving her something to her closett, and do speake worse of my wife, and dishonourably, but it is what she do of all the world, so I value it not. But they told me how poorly my Lord carried himself the other day to his kinswoman, Mrs. Howard, and was displeased because she called him uncle to a little gentlewoman that is there with him, which he will not admit of ; for no relation is to be challenged from others to a lord, and did treat her thereupon very widely and ungentely. Knipp tells me also that my Lord keeps another woman besides Mrs. Williams ; and that, when I was there the other day, there was a great hubbub in the house, Mrs. Williams being fallen sicke, because my Lord was gone to his other mis-

¹ The tavern was evidently selected to mark Pepys's disgust at his wife's ill-humour ; but he probably did not venture to mention the circumstance on his return home.

tesse, making her wait for him till his return from the other mistresse; and a great deale of do there was about it; and Mrs. Williams swounded at it, at the very time when I was there and wondered at the reason of my being received so negligently. I set them both at home, Knipp at her house, her husband being at the doore; and glad she was to be found to have staid out so long with me and Mrs. Pierce, and none else; and Mrs. Pierce at her house, and am mightily pleased with the discretion of her during the simplicity and offensiveness of my wife's discourse this afternoon. So I home, calling on W. Joyce in my coach, and staid and talked a little with him, who is the same silly prating fellow that ever he was, and so home, and there find my wife mightily out of order, and reproaching of Mrs. Pierce and Knipp as wenches, and I know not what. But I did give her no words to offend her, and quietly let all pass, and so to bed without any good looke or words to or from my wife.

7th. To the office, where we sat all the morning, and home to dinner; being pretty good friends with my wife again, no angry words passing; but she finding fault with Mercer, suspecting that it was she that must have told Mary, that must have told her mistresse of my wife's saying that she was crooked. But the truth is, she is jealous of my kindnesse to her. After dinner, to the office, and did a great deale of business. In the evening comes Mr. Reeves, with a twelve-foote glasse, so I left the office and home, where I met Mr. Batelier with my wife, in order to their going to-morrow, by agreement, to Bow to see a dancing meeting. But Lord! to see how soon I could conceive evil fears and thoughts concerning them; so Reeves and I and they up to the top of the house, and there we endeavoured to see the moon, and Saturn and Jupiter; but the heavens

proved cloudy, and so we lost our labour, having taken pains to get things together, in order to the managing of our long glasse. I receive fresh intelligence that Deptford and Greenwich are now afresh exceedingly afflicted with the sickness more than ever.

8th. Discoursed with Mr. Hooke, whom I met in the streete, about the nature of sounds, and he did make me understand the nature of musically sounds made by strings, mighty prettily; and told me that having come to a certain number of vibrations proper to make any tone, he is able to tell how many strokes a fly makes with her wings (those flies that hum in their flying) by the note that it answers to in musique, during their flying. That, I suppose, is a little too much refined; but his discourse in general of sound was mighty fine. To St. James's, where we attended with the rest of my fellows on the Duke, whom I found with two or three patches upon his nose and about his right eye, which came from his being struck with the bough of a tree the other day in his hunting; and it is a wonder it did not strike out his eye. After we had done our business with him, which is now but little, the want of money being such as leaves us but little to do but to answer complaints of the want thereof, and nothing to offer to the Duke, the representing of our want of money being now become useless, I to the Exchequer about my Tangier Quarter's Tallys, and so by coach home to Bow, to my Lady Pooley's,¹ where my wife was with Mr. Batelier and his sisters, and there I found a noble supper, and every thing exceeding pleasant, and their mother, Mrs. Batelier, a fine woman, but mighty passionate—their company mighty innocent and pleasant, we having never

¹ Wife of Sir Edmund Pooley, mentioned before.

been here before. About ten o'clock we rose from table, and sang a song, and so home in two coaches (Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary and my wife and I in one, and Mercer alone in the other); and after being examined at Allgate, whether we were husbands and wives, home. I find Reeves there, it being a mighty fine bright night, and so upon my leads, though very sleepy, till one in the morning, looking on the moon and Jupiter, with the twelve-foote glasse and another of six foote, that he hath brought with him to-night, and the sights mighty pleasant, and one of the glasses I will buy, it being very usefull. So to bed mighty sleepy, but with much pleasure. Reeves lying at my house; and mighty proud I am (and ought to be thankfull to God Almighty) that I am able to have a spare bed for my friends.

9th. To the office. Here we sat, but to little purpose, nobody coming at us but to ask for money, not to offer us any goods. At noon home to dinner, mightily pleased with a Virgin's head that my wife is now doing of. In the evening to Lumbard-streete, about money, to enable me to pay Sir G. Carteret's 3000*l.*, which he hath lodged in my hands, in behalf of his son and my lady Jemimah, towards their portion, which, I thank God, I am able to do at a minute's warning. In my way I inquired, and find Mrs. Rawlinson is dead of the sickness, and her mayde continues mighty ill. He¹ himself is got out of the house. I met also with Mr. Evelyn in the streete, who tells me the sad condition at this very day at Deptford for the plague, and more at Deale (within his precinct as one of the Commissioners' for sick and wounded seamen), that the towne is almost quite depopulated.

¹ Her husband, Daniel Rawlinson.

10th. To the Exchange, where little newes but what is in the Book, and, among other things, of a man sent up for by the King and Council for saying that Sir W. Coventry did give intelligence to the Dutch of all our matters here. Thence to Sympson, the joyner, and I am mightily pleased with what I saw of my presses for my books, which he is making for me. So homeward, and hear in Fenchurch-streete, that now the mayde also is dead at Mr. Rawlinson's; so that there are three dead in all, the wife, a man-servant, and mayde-servant. After dinner to the office, and anon with my wife and sister Balty abroad, left them in Paternoster Row, while Creed and I to Westminster; and leaving him in the Strand, I to my Lord Chancellor's, and did very little business, and so away home by water, with more and more pleasure, I every time reading over my Lord Bacon's *Faber Fortunæ*. So home, and there did a little business, and so to supper, and to bed. Pleased to hear of Mrs. Barbara Sheldon's good fortune, who is like to have Mr. Wood's son, the mast-maker, a very rich man, and to be married speedily, she being mighty fine upon it.

11th. Up and to the office. Then to Colvill's; and with him did come to an agreement about my 2600*l.* assignment on the Exchequer, which I had of Sir W. Warren; and, to my great joy, I think I shall get above 100*l.* by it, but I must leave it to be finished on Monday. This afternoon I hear as if we had landed some men upon the Dutch coasts, but I believe it is but a foolery either in the report or the attempt.

12th. (Lord's Day.) Up and to my chamber, where busy all the morning, and my thoughts very much upon the manner of my removal of my closett things the next weeke into my present musique room, if I find I can spare or get money to furnish it.

By and by, in comes Betty Michell and her husband, and so to dinner, I mightily pleased with their company. In the evening, all parted, and I and my wife up to her closett to examine her kitchen accounts, and there I took occasion to fall out with her for her buying a laced handkercher and pinner without my leave. Though the thing is not much, yet I would not permit her to begin to do so, lest worse should follow. From this we began both to be angry, and so continued till bed, and did not sleep friends.

13th. Up, without being friends with my wife, nor great enemies, being both quiet and silent. To Paul's Church-yarde, to treat with a bookbinder, to come and gild the backs of all my books, to make them handsome, to stand in my new presses, when they come. So back again to Colvill's, and there did end our treaty, to my full content, about my Exchequer assignment of 2,600*l.* of Sir W. Warren's, for which I gave him 170*l.* to stand to the hazard of receiving it. So I shall get clear by it 230*l.*, which is a very good jobb. God be praised for it! Having done with him, then he and I took coach, and I carried him to Westminster, and there set him down, in our way speaking of several things. I find him a bold man to say anything of anybody, and finds fault with our great ministers of state that nobody looks after anything; and I thought it dangerous to be free with him, for I do not think he can keep counsel, because he blates to me what has passed between other people and him. Thence I to St. James's, and there missed Mr. Coventry; but taking up Mr. Robinson in my coach, I towards London, and there in the way met Sir W. Coventry, and followed him to Whitehall, where a little discourse very kind, and thence to Stokes the goldsmith, and sent him to and again to get me 1000*l.* in

gold; and so home to dinner, my wife and I friends, without any words almost of last night. After dinner, I abroad to Stokes, and there did receive 1000*l.* worth in gold, paying 18½*d.* and 19*d.* for others exchange. Home with them, and there to my office to business, and anon home in the evening to supper and to bed.

14th. (Thanksgiving day.¹) Up, and comes Mr. Foley and his man, with a box of a great variety of carpenter's and joyner's tooles, which I had bespoke, which please me mightily; but I will have more. To White Hall, where I found them at Chappell, and met with Povy, who tells me how mad my letter makes my Lord Peterborough, and what a furious letter he hath writ to me in answer, though it is not come yet. This did trouble me; for though there be no reason, yet to have a nobleman's mouth open against a man may do a man hurt; so I endeavoured to have found him out and spoke with him, but could not. So to the chappell, and heard a piece of the Dean of Westminster's² sermon, and a special good anthemne before the king, after a sermon, and then home by coach with Captain Cocke, who is in pain about his hempe, of which he says he has bought great quantities, and would gladly be upon good terms with us for it, wherein I promise to assist him. So we light at the 'Change, where, after a small turn or two, taking no pleasure now-a-days to be there, because of answering questions that would be asked there which I cannot answer, home; and after dinner, with my wife and Mercer to the Beare-garden,³

¹ In honour of the naval success.

² John Dolben, afterwards Archbishop of York. The sermon was printed.

³ The Bear Garden was situated on Bankside, close to the precinct of the Clink Liberty, and very near to the old Palace of the bishops of Winchester. The name still exists in a street or lane at the foot of Southwark Bridge. This old English, but barbarous

where I have not been, I think, of many years, and saw some good sport of the bull's tossing of the dogs : one into the very boxes. But it is a very rude and nasty pleasure. We had a great many hectors in the same box with us (and one very fine went into the pit, and played his dog for a wager, which was a strange sport for a gentleman), where they drank wine, and drank Mercer's health first, which I pledged with my hat off. Thence home, well enough satisfied, however, with the variety of this afternoon's exercise ; and so I to my chamber, till in the evening our company came to supper. We had invited to a venison pasty Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary, Mrs. Mercer, her daughter Anne, Mr. Le Brun, and W. Hewer ; and so we supped, and very merry. And then about nine o'clock to Mrs. Mercer's gate, where the fire and boys expected us, and her son had provided abundance of serpents and rockets ; and there mighty merry (my Lady Pen and Pegg going thither with us, and Nan Wright), till about twelve at night, flinging our fireworks, and burning one another and the people over the way. And at last our businesses being most spent, we into Mrs. Mercer's, and there mighty merry, smutting one another with candle grease and soot, till most of us were like devils. And that being done, then we broke up, and to my house ; and there I made them drink, and upstairs we went, and then fell into dancing (W. Batelier dancing well), and dressing him and I and one Mr. Banister (who with his wife came over also with us) like women ; and Mercer put on a suit of Tom's, like a boy, and mighty mirth we had, and Mercer danced a jig ; and Nan Wright and my

sport, which had been suppressed by the Puritans, was revived at the Restoration. There are many particulars about the Bear Garden in the "*Gentleman's Magazine*" for 1833, part i. p. 483 ; part ii. p. 507.

wife and Pegg Pen put on perriwigs. Thus we spent till three or four in the morning, mighty merry; and then parted, and to bed.

15th. Mighty sleepy; slept till past eight of the clock, and was called up by a letter from Sir W. Coventry, which, among other things, tells me how we have burned one hundred and sixty ships of the enemy within the Fly. I up, and with all possible haste, and in pain for fear of coming late, it being our day of attending the Duke of York to St. James's, where they are full of the particulars; how they are generally good merchant ships, some of them laden and supposed rich ships. We spent five fire-ships upon them. We landed on the Schelling (Sir Philip Howard with some men, and Holmes, I think, with others, about 1000 in all), and burned a town; and so came away. By and by the Duke of York with his books showed us the very place and manner, and that it was not our design and expectation to have done this, but only to have landed on the Fly, and burned some of their stores; but being come in, we spied those ships, and with our long boats, one by one, fired them, our ships running all aground, it being so shoal water. We were led to this by, it seems, a renegado captain of the Hollanders, who found himself ill used by De Ruyter for his good service, and so came over to us, and hath done us good service; so that now we trust him, and he himself did go on this expedition. The service is very great, and our joys as great for it. All this will make the Duke of Albemarle in repute again, I doubt, though there is nothing of his in this. But, Lord! to see what successe do, whether with or without reason, and making a man seem wise, notwithstanding never so late demonstration of the profoundest folly in the world. Thence walked over the Parke with Sir W. Coventry, in our way talking

of the unhappy state of our office; and I took an opportunity to let him know, that though the backwardness of all our matters of the office may be well imputed to the known want of money, yet, perhaps, there might be personal and particular failings; and that I did, therefore, depend still upon his promise of telling me whenever he finds any ground for any defect or neglect on my part, which he promised me still to do; and that there was none he saw, nor, indeed, says he, is there room now-a-days to find fault with any particular man, while we are in this condition for money. This, methought, did not so well please me; but, however, I am glad I have said this, thereby giving myself good grounds to believe that at this time he did not want an occasion to have said what he pleased to me, if he had had anything in his mind, which by his late distance and silence I have feared. But then again I am to consider he is grown a very great man, much greater than he was, and so must keep more distance; and, next, that the condition of our office will not afford me occasion of shewing myself so active and deserving as heretofore; and, lastly, the muchness of his business cannot suffer him to mind it, or give him leisure to reflect on anything, or shew the freedom and kindness that he used to do. But I think I have done something considerable to my satisfaction in doing this; and that if I do but my duty remarkably from this time forward, and not neglect it, as I have of late done, and minded my pleasures, I may be as well as ever I was. Thence to the Exchequer, but did nothing, they being all gone from their offices; and so to the Old Exchange, where the towne full of the good newes, but I did not stay to tell or hear any, but home, my head akeing and drowsy, and to dinner. So down the river, reading "The Adventures of Five Houres," which the more I read the more I

admire. So down below Greenwich, but the wind and tide being against us, I back again to Deptford, and did a little business there, and thence walked to Redriffe; and so home, and to the office a while. In the evening comes W. Batelier and his sister, and my wife, and fair Mrs. Turner into the garden, and there we walked, and then with my Lady Pen and Pegg in a-doors, and eat and were merry, and so pretty late broke up, and to bed. The guns of the Tower going off, and there being bonfires also in the street for this late good successe.

16th. Up, having slept well, and after entering my Journal, to the office, where all the morning, but of late Sir W. Coventry has not come to us, he being discouraged from the little we have to do but to answer the clamours of people for money. At noon home, and there dined with me my Lady Pen only and W. Hewer at a haunch of venison boiled, where pretty merry, only my wife vexed me a little about demanding money to go with my Lady Pen to the Exchange to lay out. I to the office, where all the afternoon doing much business; but here I had a most eminent experience of the evil of being behindhand in business. I was the most backward to begin any thing, and would fain have framed to myself an occasion of going abroad, and should, I doubt, have done it, but some business coming in, one after another, kept me there, and I fell to the ridding away of a great deale of business, and when my hand was in it was so pleasing a sight to see my papers disposed of, and letters answered, which troubled my book and table, that I could have continued there with delight all night long, and did till called away by my Lady Pen and Pegg and my wife to their house to eat with them; and there I went, and exceeding merry, there being Nan Wright, now Mrs. Markham, and sits at table with my Lady. So mighty

merry, home and to bed. This day Sir W. Batten did show us at the table a letter from Sir T. Allen, which says that we have taken ten or twelve ships (since the late great expedition of burning their ships and towne), laden with hempe, flax, tarr, deales, &c. This was good newes; but by and by comes in Sir G. Carteret, and he asked us with full mouth what we would give for good newes. Says Sir W. Batten, "I have better than you, for a wager." They laid sixpence, and we that were by were to give sixpence to him that told the best newes. So Sir W. Batten told his of the ten or twelve ships. Sir G. Carteret did then tell us that upon the newes of the burning of the ships and towne the common people of Amsterdam did besiege De Witt's house, and he was forced to flee to the Prince of Orange, who is gone to Cleve to the marriage of his sister. This we concluded all the best newes, and my Lord Brouncker and myself did give Sir G. Carteret our sixpence a-piece, which he did give Mr. Smith to give the poor. Thus we made ourselves mighty merry.

17th. Up and betimes with Captain Erwin down by water to Woolwich. Being come thither I did some business there and at the Rope Yarde, and had a piece of bride-cake sent me by Mrs. Barbary¹ into the boate after me, she being here at her uncle's, with her husband, Mr. Wood's son, the mast maker, and mighty nobly married, they say, she was, very fine, and he very rich, a strange fortune for so odd a looked mayde, though her hands and body be good, and nature very good, I think. Back with Captain Erwin, discoursing about the East Indys, where he hath often been. And among other things he tells me how the King of Syam seldom goes out without thirty or forty thousand people with him, and not a word spoke, nor a hum or cough in the whole company to be

¹ Mrs. Barbara Sheldon.

heard. He tells me the punishment frequently there for malefactors is cutting off the crowne of their head, which they do very dexterously, leaving their brains bare, which kills them presently. He told me what I remember he hath once done heretofore: that every body is to lie flat down at the coming by of the King, and nobody to look upon him upon pain of death. And that he and his fellows, being strangers, were invited to see the sport of taking of a wild elephant, and they did only kneel, and look toward the King. Their druggerman¹ did desire them to fall down, for otherwise he should suffer for their contempt of the King. The sport being ended, a messenger comes from the King, which the druggerman thought had been to have taken away his life; but it was to enquire how the strangers liked the sport. The druggerman answered that they did cry it up to be the best that ever they saw, and that they never heard of any Prince so great in every thing as this King. The messenger being gone back, Erwin and his company asked their druggerman what he had said, which he told them. "But why," say they, "would you say that without our leave, it being not true?" "It is no matter for that," says he, "I must have said it, or have been hanged, for our King do not live by meat, nor drink, but by having great lyes told him." In our way back we come by a little vessel that came into the river this morning, and says she left the fleete in Sole Bay, and that she hath not heard (she belonging to Sir W. Jenings, in the fleete) of any such prizes taken as the ten or twelve I inquired about, and said by Sir W. Batten yesterday to be taken, so I fear it is not true. So to Westminster, and there, to my great content, did receive my 2,000*l.* of Mr. Spicer's telling, which I was to receive

¹ Dragoman.

of Colvill, and brought it home with me to my house by water, and there I find one of my new presses for my books brought home, which pleases me mightily. So, also, do my wife's progresse upon her head that she is making. So to dinner, and thence abroad with my wife, leaving her at Unthanks'; I to White Hall, waiting at the Council door till it rose, and there spoke with Sir W. Coventry, who and I much fear our Victuallers, they having missed the fleete in their going. But Sir W. Coventry says it is not our fault, but theirs, if they have not left ships to secure them. This he spoke in a chagrin sort of way, methought. After a little more discourse of several businesses, I away homeward, having in the gallery the good fortune to see Mrs. Stewart, who is grown a little too tall, but is a woman of most excellent features. The narrative of the late expedition¹ in burning the ships is in print, and makes it a great thing, and I hope it is so. So took up my wife and home, and I to the office. Then to Sir W. Batten's, where Sir Richard Ford did, very understandingly, methought, give us an account of the originall of the Hollands Bank, and the nature of it, and how they do never give any interest at all to any person that brings in their money, though what is brought in upon the public faith interest is given by the State for. The unsafe condition of a Bank under a Monarch, and the little safety to a Monarch to have any; or Corporation alone (as London in answer to Amsterdam) to have so great a wealth or credit, it is, that makes it hard to have a Bank here. And as to the former, he did tell us how it sticks in the memory of most merchants how the late King (when by the war between Holland and France and Spayne all the bullion of Spayne was brought hither, one-third of it to be coyned; and indeed it was found advantageous to the

¹ See 15th August, *ante*.

merchant to coyne most of it), was persuaded in a strait by my Lord Cottington¹ to seize upon the money in the Tower, which, though in a few days the merchants concerned did prevail to get it released, yet the thing will never be forgot. So home to supper and to bed, understanding this evening, since I came home, that our Victuallers are all come into the fleete, which is good newes. Sir John Minnes came home to-night not well, from Chatham, where he hath been at a pay, holding it at Upnor Castle, because of the plague so much in the towne of Chatham. He hath, they say, got an ague, being so much on the water.

18th. All the morning at my office; then to the Exchange; so home, calling at my little mercer's in Lumbard Streete, who hath the pretty wench, like the old Queene, and there cheapened some stuffs to hang my roome, that I intend to turn into a closett. After dinner comes Creed to discourse with me about several things of Tangier concernments and accounts, among others starts the doubt, which I was formerly aware of, but did wink at it, whether or no Lanyon and his partners be not paid for more than they should be, which he presses, so that it did a little discompose me; but, however, I do think no harm will arise thereby. He gone, I to the office, and there very late, very busy, and so home to supper and to bed.

¹ Sir Francis Cottington, a younger son of Philip Cottington, of Godmanston, Somerset, was created by Charles I. Lord Cottington, of Hanworth. He became successively one of the Clerks of the Council, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Ambassador into Spain, and Lord Treasurer of England under the two elder Stuarts. He died at Valladolid in 1653, s. p., and his body was brought to England and interred under a stately monument in Westminster Abbey, erected by Charles Cottington, his nephew and heir. See 6th December, 1667, for an account of his disinheriting a nephew for a foolish speech.

19th. (Lord's Day.) Up and to my chamber, and there began to draw out fair and methodically my accounts of Tangier, in order to shew them to the Lords. But by and by comes by agreement Mr. Reeves, and after him Mr. Spong, and all day with them, both before and after dinner, till ten o'clock at night, upon opticke enquiries, he bringing me a frame he closes on, to see how the rays of light do cut one another, and in a darke room with smoake, which is very pretty. He did also bring a lanthorne with pictures in glasse, to make strange things appear on a wall, very pretty. We did also at night see Jupiter and his girdle and satellites, very fine, with my twelve-foote glasse, but could not Saturne, he being very dark. Spong and I had also several fine discourses upon the globes this afternoon, particularly why the fixed stars do not rise and set at the same houre all the yeare long, which he could not demonstrate, nor I neither, the reason of. So, it being late, after supper they away home. But it vexed me to understand no more from Reeves and his glasses touching the nature and reason of the several refractions of the several figured glasses, he understanding the acting part, but not one bit the theory, nor can make any body understand it, which is a strange dullness, methinks.

20th. Waked this morning about six o'clock, with a violent knocking at Sir J. Minnes's doore, to call up Mrs. Hammon, crying out that Sir J. Minnes is a-dying. I saw him on Saturday, after his fit of the ague, and then he was pretty lusty. Which troubles me mightily, for he is a very good, harmless, honest gentleman, though not fit for business. Up, and to Deptford by water, reading "Othello, Moore of Venice," which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play, but having so lately read "The Adven-

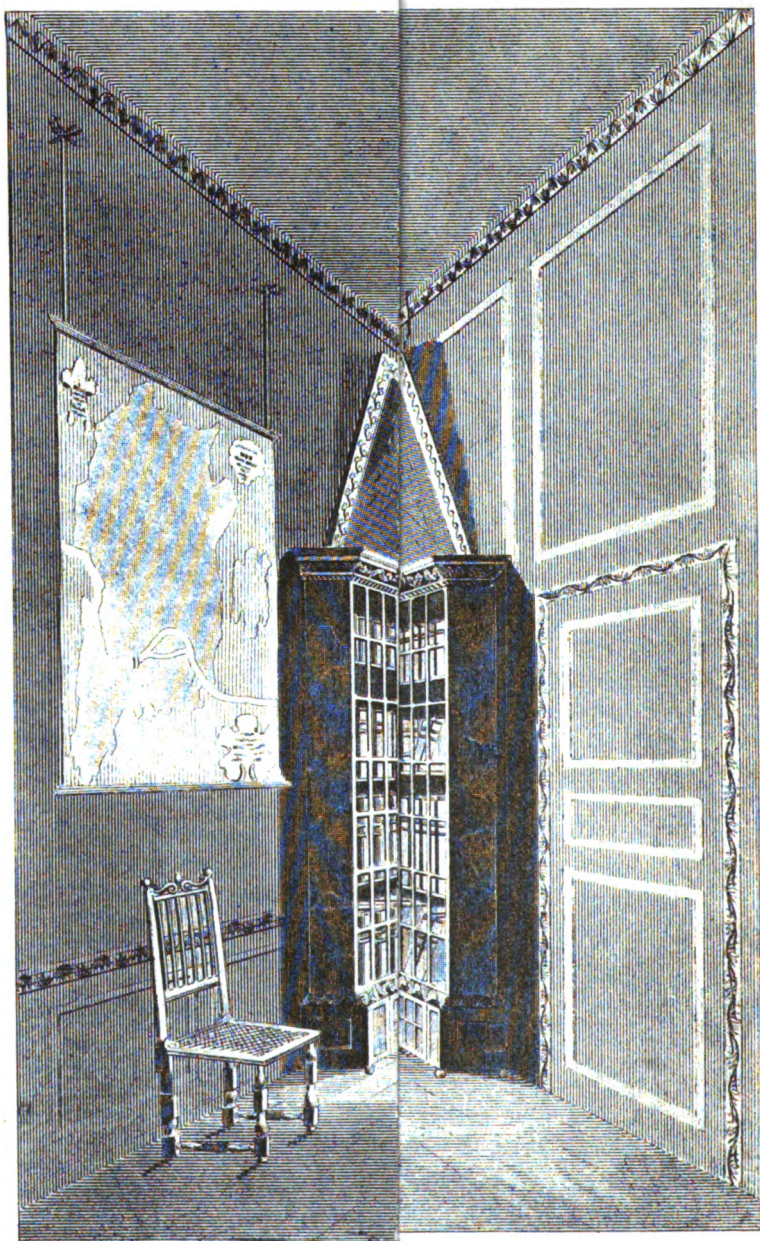
tures of Five Houres," it seems a mean thing. So home, and all the afternoon upon my Tangier accounts, getting Tom Wilson to help me in writing as I read; and I find myself right to a farthing in an account of 127,000*l*. This afternoon I visited Sir J. Minnes, who, poor man, is much impatient by these few days' sickness, and I fear indeed it will kill him.

21st. Up, and to the office, where much business and Sir W. Coventry there, who of late has wholly left us, most of our business being about money, to which we can give no answer, which makes him weary of coming to us. He made an experiment to-day, by taking up a heape of petitions that lay upon the table. They proved seventeen in number, and found them thus: one for money for reparation for clothes, four desired to have tickets made out to them, and the other twelve were for money. Dined at home, and sister Balty with us. My wife snappish because I denied her money to lay out this afternoon; however, good friends again, and by coach set them down at the New Exchange, and I to the Exchequer, and there find my business of my tallys in good forwardness. So away, and taking up my wife, went homewards. I 'light and to my mercer's in Lumbarde Streete, and there agreed for our purple serge for my closett. So home and late at the office, and then home, and there found Mr. Batelier and his sister Mary, and we sat chatting a great while, talking of witches and spirits, and he told me of his own knowledge, being with some others at Bourdeaux, making a bargain with another man at a taverne for some clarets, they did hire a fellow to thunder (which he had the art of doing upon a deale board) and to rain and hail, that is, make the noise of, so as did give them a pretence of undervaluing their merchants' wines, by saying this thunder would

spoil and turne them. Which was so reasonable to the merchant, that he did abate two pistolls per ton for the wine in belief of that.

22nd. I to St. James's, and there with the Duke of York. I had opportunity of much talk with Sir W. Pen to-day (he being newly come from the fleete); and he do much undervalue the honour that is given to the conduct of the late business of Holmes in burning the ships and town,¹ saying it was a great thing indeed, and of great profit to us in being of great losse to the enemy, but that it was wholly a business of chance, and no conduct employed in it. I find Sir W. Pen do hold up his head at this time higher than ever he did in his life. I perceive he do look after Sir J. Minnes's place if he dies, and though I love him not nor do desire to have him in, yet I do think he is the first man in England for it. To the Exchequer, and there received my tallys, and paid my fees in good order, and so home, and there find Mrs. Knipp and my wife going to dinner. She tells me my song of "Beauty Retire" is mightily cried up, which I am not a little proud of; and do think I have done "It is Decreed" better, but I have not finished it. My closett is doing by upholsters, which I am pleased with, but fear my purple will be too sad for that melancholy roome. After dinner and doing something at the office, I with my wife, Knipp, and Mercer, by coach to Moorefields, and there saw "Polichinello," which pleases me mightily. Thence carried Knipp home, calling at the Cocke alehouse at the doore and drank, and so home, and there find Reeves, and so up to look upon the stars,

¹ The town burned (see 15th August, *ante*) was Brandaris, a place of 1,000 houses, on the isle of Schelling; the ships lay between that island and the Fly (*i.e.* Vlieland), the adjoining island. This attack probably provoked that by the Dutch on Chatham. See Pepys's remarks, 30th June, 1667, *post*.



Lady Charlotte Neville, del.

VIEW OF PINGS.

and do like my glasse very well, and did even with him for it and a little perspective and the Lanthorne that shows tricks, altogether costing me 9*l.* 5*s.* 0*d.* So to bed.

23rd. Sir W. Coventry sent me word that the Dutch fleete is certainly abroad; and so we are to hasten all we have to send to our fleete with all speed. But, Lord! to see how my Lord Brouncker undertakes the despatch of the fire-ships, when he is no more fit for it than a porter; and all the while Sir W. Pen, who is the most fit, is unwilling to displease him, and do not look after it; and so the King's work is like to be well done. At noon dined at home, Lovett with us; but he do not please me in his business, for he keeps things long in hand, and his paper do not hold so good as I expected—the varnish wiping off in a little time—a very sponge; and I doubt by his discourse he is an odde kind of fellow, and, in plain terms, a very rogue. He gone, I to the office (having seen and liked the upholsters' work in my roome—which they have almost done), and there late, and in the evening find Mr. Batelier and his sister there, and then we talked and eat and were merry, and so we parted late, and to bed.

24th. Up, and dispatched several businesses at home in the morning, and then comes Sympson to set up my other new presses¹ for my books, and so he and I fell in to the furnishing of my new closett, and taking out the things out of my old, and I kept him with me all day, and he dined with me, and so all the afternoon till it was quite darke hanging things, that is my maps and pictures and draughts, and setting up my books, and as much as we could do, to my most

¹ These presses still exist, and, according to Pepys's wish, they are placed in the second court of Magdalene College in a room which they exactly fit, and the books are arranged in the presses just as they were when presented to the college. (M. B.)

extraordinary satisfaction ; so that I think it will be as noble a closett as any man hath, and light enough—though, indeed, it would be better to have had a little more light. He gone, my wife and I to talk and supper, and then to setting right my Tangier accounts and enter my Journall, and then to bed with great content in my day's worke. This afternoon comes Mrs. Barbary Sheldon, now Mrs. Wood, to see my wife : I was so busy I would not see her. But she came, it seems, mighty rich in rings and fine clothes, and like a lady, and says she is matched mighty well, at which I am very glad, but wonder at her good fortune and the folly of her husband, and vexed at myself for not paying her the respect of seeing her, but I will come out of her debt another time.

25th. All the morning at the office. After dinner up to my new closett, which pleases me mightily ; and then to the office, and then wrote my letters, and then in mighty good humour home to supper and to bed.

26th. (Lord's Day.) Up betimes, and to the finishing the setting things in order in my new closett, which I did thoroughly by the time sermon was done at church, to my exceeding joy, only I was a little disturbed with newes my Lord Brouncker brought me, that we are to attend the King at White Hall this afternoon, and that it is about a complaint from the Generalls against us. Sir W. Pen dined by invitation with me, his Lady and daughter being gone into the country. We very merry. After dinner to my office, whither I sent for Mr. Lewes and instructed myself fully in the business of the Victualling, to enable me to answer in the matter ; and then Sir W. Pen and I by coach to White Hall, and there staid till the King and Cabinet were met in the Green Chamber, and then

we were called in ; and there the King begun with me, to hear how the victualls of the fleete stood. I did in a long discourse tell him and the rest (the Duke of York, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, both the Secretarys, Sir G. Carteret, and Sir W. Coventry,) how it stood, wherein they seemed satisfied, but press mightily for more supplies ; and the letter of the Generalls, which was read, did lay their not going or too soon returning from the Dutch coast, this next bout, to the want of victuals. They then proceeded to the enquiry after the fire-ships ; and did all very superficially, and without any severity at all. But, however, I was in pain, after we came out, to know how I had done ; and hear well enough. But, however, it shall be a caution to me to prepare myself against a day of inquisition. Being come out, I met with Mr. Moore, and he and I an houre together in the Gallery, telling me how far they are gone in getting my Lord Sandwich's pardon, so as the Chancellor is prepared in it ; and Sir H. Bennet do promote it, and the warrant for the King's signing is drawn. The business between my Lord Hinchinbroke and Mrs. Mallett is quite broke off ; he attending her at Tunbridge, and she declaring her affections to be settled ; and he not being fully pleased with the vanity and liberty of her carriage. He told me how my Lord has drawn a bill of exchange from Spayne of 1,200*l.*, and would have me supply him with 500*l.* of it, but I avoyded it, being not willing to embarke myself in money there, where I see things going to ruine. Thence to discourse of the times ; and he tells me he believes both my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry, as well as my Lord Sandwich and Sir G. Carteret, have reason to fear, and are afeard of this Parliament now coming on. He tells me that Bristoll's faction is getting ground apace against my Lord

Chancellor. He told me that my old Lord Coventry¹ was a cunning, crafty man, and did make as many bad decrees in Chancery as any man ; and that in one case, that occasioned many years' dispute, at last when the King came in, it was hoped by the party grieved, to get my Lord Chancellor to reverse a decree of his. Sir W. Coventry took the opportunity of the business between the Duke of York and the Duchesse, and said to my Lord Chancellor, that he had rather be drawn up Holborne to be hanged, than live to see his father's grave defiled (in these very terms) and any decree of his reversed. And so the Chancellor did not think fit to do it, but it still stands, to the undoing of one Norton, a printer, about his right to the printing of the Bible, and Grammar, &c.² Sir J. Minnes had a very bad fit all this day, and a hickup do take him, which is a very bad sign, which troubles me truly.

27th. Up, and to my new closett. Then to break open a window to the leads' side in my old closett, which will enlighten the room mightily, and make it mighty pleasant. Then to the office, and thither came and walked an hour with Sir G. Carteret, who tells me what is done about my Lord's pardon, and is not for letting the Duke of York know any thing of it beforehand, but to carry it as speedily and quietly as we can. He seems to be very apprehensive that the Parliament will be troublesome and inquisitive into faults, but seems not to value them as to himself. He gone, I to the Victualling Office, setting the business of the state of the fleet's

¹ The Lord Keeper. Ob. 1639-40.

² Roger Norton, of Little Britain, printer of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew to His Majesty, and one of the Patentees in the office of King's Printer, in whom, as well as in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, is still vested the exclusive right of printing the authorized English Version of the Scriptures. He was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1684. Ob. 26th October, 1723.

victualling even and plain. I have another memento from Sir W. Coventry of the want of provisions in the fleete, which troubles me, though there is no reason for it; but it will have the good effect of making me more wary.

28th. At noon I, with my wife and Mercer, to Philpott Lane, a great cook's shop, to the wedding of Mr. Longracke, our purveyor, a good, sober, civil man, and hath married a sober, serious mayde. Here I met much ordinary company, I going thither at his great request; but there was Mr. Madden and his lady, a fine, noble, pretty lady, and he a fine gentleman seems to be. We four were most together; but the whole company was very simple and innocent. A good dinner, and, what was best, good musique. After dinner the young women went to dance; among others Mr. Christopher Pett his daughter, who is a very pretty, modest girle, I am mightily taken with her; and that being done about five o'clock, home, very well pleased with the afternoon's work. And so we broke up mightily civilly, the bride and bridegroom going to Greenwich, they keeping their dinner here only for my sake. We home, where I to the office, and anon am on a sudden called to meet Sir W. Pen and Sir W. Coventry at the Victualling Office, which did put me out of order to be so surprised. But I went, and there Sir William Coventry did read me a letter from the Generalls to the King, a most scurvy letter, reflecting most upon Sir W. Coventry, and then upon me for my accounts (not that they are not true, but that we do not consider the expence of the fleete), and then upon the whole office, in neglecting them and the King's service, and this in very plain and sharp and menacing terms. I did give a good account of matters according to our computation of the expence of the fleete. I find

Sir W. Coventry willing enough to accept of any thing to confront the Generalls. But a great supply must be made, and shall be in grace of God ! But, however, our accounts here will be found the true ones. Having done here, and much work set me, I with greater content home than I thought I should have done, and so to the office awhile, and then home, and awhile in my new closet, which delights me every day more and more, and so late to bed.

29th. Up betimes, and then, by appointment with Sir W. Pen, to my Lord Bellassis, he sitting in the coach the while, while I up to my Lord and there offered him my account of the bills of exchange I have received and paid for him, wherein we agree all but one 200*l.* bill of Vernatty's drawing, wherein I doubt he has endeavoured to cheate my Lord ; but that will soon appear. Thence took leave, and found Sir W. Pen talking to Orange Moll, of the King's house, who, to our great comfort, told us that they begun to act on the 18th of this month. So on to St. James's, in the way Sir W. Pen telling me that Mr. Norton,¹ that married Sir J. Lawson's daughter, is dead. She left 800*l.* a year jointure, a son to inherit the whole estate. She freed from her father-in-law's tyranny, and is in condition to helpe her mother, who needs it ; of which I am glad, the young lady being very pretty. To St. James's, and there Sir W. Coventry took Sir W. Pen and me apart, and read to us his answer to the Generalls' letter to the King that he read last night ; wherein he is very plain, and states the matter in full defence of himself and of me with him, which he could not avoid ; which is a good comfort to me, that I happen to be involved with him in the same cause. And then, speaking of the supplies which have been

¹ See 6th July, 1665.

made to this fleete, more than ever in all kinds to any, even that wherein the Duke of York himself was, "Well," says he, "if this will not do, I will say, as Sir J. Falstaffe did to the Prince, 'Tell your father, that if he do not like this let him kill the next Piercy himself.'" So I into the Parke and home, and there find Mrs. Mary Batelier, and she dined with us; and thence I took them to Islington, and there eat a custard; and so back to Moorfields, and shewed Batelier, with my wife, Polichinello, which I like the more I see it; and so home with great content, she being a mighty good-natured, pretty woman. No newes where the Dutch are. We begin to think they will steale through the Channel to meet Beaufort. We think our fleete sayled yesterday, but we have no newes of it.

30th. In the afternoon, and at night till two in the morning, framing my great letter about the victualling of the fleete, about which there has been so much ado and exceptions taken by the Generalls.

31st. Wrote it fair, which done I sent it to Sir W. Coventry to peruse and send to the fleete by the first opportunity; and so pretty betimes to bed. Much pleased to-day with the thoughts of gilding the backs of all my books alike in my new presses.

September 1st. My wife and I to Polichinello, but were there horribly frightened to see Young Killigrew come in with a great many more young sparks; but we hid ourselves, so as we think they did not see us. By and by they went away, and then we were at rest again; and so, the play being done, we to Islington, and there eat and drank and mighty merry; and so home singing, and, after a letter or two at the office, to bed.

2nd. (Lord's-day.) Some of our mayds sitting up late last night to get things ready against our feast to-day, Jane called us up about three in the morning,

to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose and slipped on my night-gowne, and went to her window, and thought it to be on the back-side of Marke-lane at the farthest; but, being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off; and so went to bed again and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window, and saw the fire not so much as it was and further off. So to my closett to set things to rights after yesterday's cleaning. By and by Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burned down to-night by the fire we saw, and that it is now burning down all Fish-street, by London Bridge. So I made myself ready presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places, Sir J. Robinson's little son going up with me; and there I did see the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side the end of the bridge; which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's baker's¹ house in Pudding-lane, and that it hath burned St. Magnus's Church and most part of Fish-street already. So I down to the water-side, and there got a boat and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house, as far as the Old Swan, already burned that way, and the fire running further, that in a very little time it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Everybody endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long

¹ His name was Faryner.

as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the water-side to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceive, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys till they, some of them, burned their wings, and fell down. Having staid, and in an hour's time seen the fire rage every way, and nobody, to my sight, endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and leave all to the fire, and having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high and driving it into the City; and every thing, after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of churches, and among other things the poor steeple¹ by which pretty Mrs. — lives, and whereof my old schoolfellow Elborough is parson, taken fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down: I to White Hall (with a gentleman with me who desired to go off from the Tower, to see the fire, in my boat); and there up to the King's closett in the Chappell, where people came about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King. So I was called for, and did tell the King and Duke of York what I saw, and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor² from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him that if he would have any more soldiers he shall; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cocke, I in his coach, which

¹ St. Lawrence Poultney, of which Thomas Elborough was curate.

² Sir Thomas Bludworth. See 30th June, 1666.

he lent me, and Creed with me to Paul's, and there walked along Watling-street, as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there sicke people carried away in beds. Extraordinary good goods carried in carts and on backs. At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning-street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message he cried, like a fainting woman, "Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it." That he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night. So he left me, and I him, and walked home, seeing people all almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses, too, so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tarr, in Thames-street; and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things. Here I saw Mr. Isaac Houblon, the handsome man, prettily dressed and dirty, at his door at Dowgate, receiving some of his brother's things, whose houses were on fire; and, as he says, have been removed twice already; and he doubts (as it soon proved) that they must be in a little time removed from his house also, which was a sad consideration. And to see the churches all filling with goods by people who themselves should have been quietly there at this time. By this time it was about twelve o'clock; and so home, and there find my guests, who were Mr. Wood and his wife Barbary Sheldon, and also Mr. Moone: she mighty fine, and her husband, for aught I see, a likely man. But Mr. Moone's design and mine, which was to look over my closett and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed; for we were in great

trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be. While at dinner Mrs. Batelier came to enquire after Mr. Woolfe and Stanes (who, it seems, are related to them) whose houses in Fish-street are all burned, and they in a sad condition. She would not stay in the fright. Soon as dined, I and Moone away, and walked through the City, the streets full of nothing but people and horses and carts loaden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burned house to another. They now removing out of Canning-streete (which received goods in the morning) into Lombard-streete, and further; and among others I now saw my little goldsmith, Stokes,¹ receiving some friend's goods, whose house itself was burned the day after. We parted at Paul's; he home, and I to Paul's Wharf, where I had appointed a boat to attend me, and took in Mr. Carcassee² and his brother,

¹ Humphrey Stocks, at the Black Horse in Lombard Street.

² James Carcassee, who is again frequently mentioned, was a clerk in the office for issuing tickets to the seamen. He published a 4to. volume of poems in 1679, called "*Lucida Intervalla*," the following extract from which strongly reflecting upon Pepys, has been printed in "*Notes and Queries*," vol. ii. p. 87:—

"Get thee behind me, then, dumb devil begone,
The Lord hath Ephthatha said to my tongue.
Him I must praise who open'd hath my lips,
Sent me from Navy to the Ark by Pepys;
By Mr. Pepys, who hath my rival been
For the Duke's favour, more than years thirteen;
But I excluded, he high and fortunate,
This secretary I could never mate.
But clerk of th' Acts, if I'm a parson, then
I shall prevail, the voice outdoes the pen;
Though in a gown, the challenge I may make,
And wager win, save, if you can, your stake.
To th' Admiral I all submit, and vail——"

The concluding line cut off and imperfect.

whom I met in the streete, and carried them below and above bridge to and again to see the fire, which was now got further, both below and above, and no likelihood of stopping it. Met with the King and Duke of York in their barge, and with them to Queenhithe, and there called Sir Richard Browne to them. Their order was only to pull down houses apace, and so below bridge at the water-side; but little was or could be done, the fire coming upon them so fast. Good hopes there was of stopping it at the Three Cranes above, and at Buttolph's Wharf below bridge, if care be used; but the wind carries it into the City, so as we know not by the water-side what it do there. River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water, and only I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of Virginalls¹ in it. Having seen as much as I could now, I away to White Hall by appointment, and there walked to St. James's Parke, and there met my wife and Creed and Wood and his wife, and walked to my boat; and there upon the water again, and to the fire up and down, it still encreasing, and the wind great. So near the fire as we could for smoke; and all over the Thames, with one's face in the wind, you were almost burned with a shower of fire-drops. This is very true; so as houses were burned by these drops and flakes of fire, three or four, nay, five or six houses, one from another. When we could endure no more upon the water, we to a little ale-house on the Bankside, over against the Three Cranes, and there staid till it was dark almost, and saw the fire grow; and, as it grew darker, appeared more and more, and in corners and upon steeples, and between churches and houses, as

¹ A sort of spinet, so called from young women playing upon it.

far as we could see up the hill of the City, in a most horrid malicious bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. Barbary and her husband away before us. We staid till, it being darkish, we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill for an arch of above a mile long : it made me weep to see it. The churches, houses, and all on fire and flaming at once ; and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruine. So home with a sad heart, and there find every body discoursing and lamenting the fire ; and poor Tom Hater came with some few of his goods saved out of his house, which is burned upon Fish-streete Hill. I invited him to lie at my house, and did receive his goods, but was deceived in his lying there, the newes coming every moment of the growth of the fire ; so as we were forced to begin to pack up our owne goods, and prepare for their removal ; and did by moonshine (it being brave dry, and moonshine, and warm weather) carry much of my goods into the garden, and Mr. Hater and I did remove my money and iron chests into my cellar, as thinking that the safest place. And got my bags of gold into my office, ready to carry away, and my chief papers of accounts also there, and my tallys into a box by themselves. So great was our fear, as Sir W. Batten hath carts come out of the country to fetch away his goods this night. We did put Mr. Hater, poor man, to bed a little ; but he got but very little rest, so much noise being in my house, taking down of goods.

3rd. About four o'clock in the morning, my Lady Batten sent me a cart to carry away all my money, and plate, and best things, to Sir W. Rider's at Bednall-green. Which I did, riding myself in my night-gowne in the cart ; and, Lord ! to see how the streets and the highways are crowded with people

running and riding, and getting of carts at any rate to fetch away things. I find Sir W. Rider tired with being called up all night, and receiving things from several friends. His house full of goods, and much of Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's. I am eased at my heart to have my treasure so well secured. Then home, with much ado to find a way, nor any sleep all this night to me nor my poor wife. But then and all this day she and I, and all my people labouring to get away the rest of our things, and did get Mr. Tooker to get me a lighter to take them in, and we did carry them (myself some) over Tower Hill, which was by this time full of people's goods, bringing their goods thither; and down to the lighter, which lay at the next quay, above the Tower Docks. And here was my neighbour's wife, Mrs. ———, with her pretty child, and some few of her things, which I did willingly give way to be saved with mine; but there was no passing with any thing through the postern, the crowd was so great. The Duke of York came this day by the office, and spoke to us, and did ride with his guard up and down the City to keep all quiet (he being now Generall, and having the care of all). This day, Mercer being not at home, but against her mistress's order gone to her mother's, and my wife going thither to speak with W. Hewer, met her there, and was angry; and her mother saying that she was not a 'prentice girl, to ask leave every time she goes abroad, my wife with good reason was angry, and, when she came home, bid her be gone again. And so she went away, which troubled me, but yet less than it would, because of the condition we are in, in fear of coming in a little time to being less able to keepe one in her quality. At night lay down a little upon a quilt of W. Hewer's in the office, all my owne things being packed up or gone; and after me my poor wife did the like, we having fed upon the remains of yester-

day's dinner, having no fire nor dishes, nor any opportunity of dressing any thing.

4th. Up by break of day to get away the remainder of my things; which I did by a lighter at the Iron gate:¹ and my hands so few, that it was the afternoon before we could get them all away. Sir W. Pen and I to Tower-streete, and there met the fire burning three or four doors beyond Mr. Howell's, whose goods, poor man, his trayes, and dishes, shovells, &c. were flung all along Tower-street in the kennels, and people working therewith from one end to the other; the fire coming on in that narrow streete, on both sides, with infinite fury. Sir W. Batten not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit in the garden, and laid it in there; and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office that I could not otherwise dispose of. And in the evening Sir W. Pen and I did dig another, and put our wine in it; and I my Parmazan cheese, as well as my wine and some other things. The Duke of York was at the office this day, at Sir W. Pen's; but I happened not to be within. This afternoon, sitting melancholy with Sir W. Pen in our garden, and thinking of the certain burning of this office, without extraordinary means, I did propose for the sending up of all our workmen from Woolwich and Deptford yards (none whereof yet appeared), and to write to Sir W. Coventry to have the Duke of York's permission to pull down houses, rather than lose this office, which would much hinder the King's business. So Sir W. Pen went down this night, in order to the sending them up to-morrow morning; and I wrote to Sir W. Coventry about the business,² but received no answer. This night Mrs.

¹ Irongate Stairs, Lower Thames Street.

² A copy of this letter, preserved among the Pepys MSS. in the author's own handwriting, is subjoined:—

Sir,—The fire is now very neere us as well on Tower Streete as

Turner (who, poor woman, was removing her goods all this day, good goods into the garden, and knew not how to dispose of them), and her husband supped with my wife and me at night, in the office, upon a shoulder of mutton from the cook's, without any napkin or any thing, in a sad manner, but were merry. Only now and then walking into the garden, and saw how horridly the sky looks, all on a fire in the night, was enough to put us out of our wits; and, indeed, it was extremely dreadful, for it looks just as if it was at us, and the whole heaven on fire.) I after supper walked in the darke down to Tower-streete, and there saw it all on fire, at the Trinity House on that side, and the Dolphin Taverne on this side, which was very near us; and the fire with extraordinary vehemence. Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower-streete, those next the Tower, which at first did frighten people more than any thing; but it stopped the fire where it was done, it bringing down the houses to the ground in the same places they stood, and then it was easy to quench what little fire was in it, though it kindled

Fanchurch Street side, and we little hope of our escape but by that remedy, to y^e want whereof we doe certainly owe y^e loss of y^e City, namely, y^e pulling down of houses, in y^e way of y^e fire. This way Sir W. Pen and myself have so far concluded upon y^e practising, that he is gone to Woolwich and Deptford to supply himself with men and necessarys in order to the doing thereof, in case at his returne our condition be not bettered and that he meets with his R. H^e approbation, which I have thus undertaken to learn of you. Pray please to let me have this night (at whatever hour it is) what his R. H^e directions are in this particular. Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten having left us, we cannot add, though we are well assured of their, as well as all y^e neighbourhood's concurrence.

Y^r obedient Serv^{nt},
S. P.

Sir W. Coventry,
Sept^r. 4, 1666.

nothing almost. W. Hewer this day went to see how his mother did, and comes late home, telling us how he hath been forced to remove her to Islington, her house in Pye-corner being burned; so that the fire is got so far that way, and all the Old Bayly, and was running down to Fleet-streete; and Paul's is burned, and all Cheapside. I wrote to my father this night, but the post-house being burned, the letter could not go.

5th. I lay down in the office again upon W. Hewer's quilt, being mighty weary, and sore in my feet with going till I was hardly able to stand. About two in the morning my wife calls me up and tells me of new cries of fire, it being come to Barking Church, which is the bottom of our lane.¹ I up, and finding it so, resolved presently to take her away, and did, and took my gold, which was about 2,350*l.*, W. Hewer, and Jane, down by Proundy's boat to Woolwich; but Lord! what a sad sight it was by moone-light to see the whole City almost on fire, that you might see it plain at Woolwich, as if you were by it. There, when I came, I find the gates shut, but no guard kept at all, which troubled me, because of discourses now begun, that there is a plot in it, and that the French had done it. I got the gates open, and to Mr. Shelden's, where I locked up my gold, and charged my wife and W. Hewer never to leave the room without one of them in it, night or day. So back again, by the way seeing my goods well in the lighters at Deptford, and watched well by people. Home, and whereas I expected to have seen our house on fire, it being now about seven o'clock, it was not. But to the fire, and there find greater hopes than I expected; for my confidence of finding our Office on

¹ Seething Lane.

fire was such, that I durst not ask any body how it was with us, till I came and saw it was not burned. But going to the fire, I find by the blowing up of houses, and the great helpe given by the workmen out of the King's yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well as at Marke-lane end as ours; it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church, and part of the porch, and was there quenched. I up to the top of Barking steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw; every where great fires, oyle-cellars, and brimstone, and other things burning. I became afeard to stay there long, and therefore down again as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it; and to Sir W. Pen's, and there eat a piece of cold meat, having eaten¹ nothing since Sunday, but the remains of Sunday's dinner. Here I met with Mr. Young and Whistler; and having removed all my things, and received good hopes that the fire at our end is stopped, they and I walked into the town, and find Fenchurch-streete, Gracious-streete, and Lumbard-streete all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there, of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture in the corner. Walked into Moore-fields (our feet ready to burn, walking through the towne among the hot coles), and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and every body keeping his goods together by themselves (and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day); drunk there, and paid twopence for a plain penny loaf. Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside and Newgate Market, all burned, and seen Anthony Joyce's house in fire.

¹ He forgot the shoulder of mutton from the cook's the day before.

And took up (which I keep by me) a piece of glasse of Mercers' Chappell in the streete, where much more was, so melted and buckled¹ with the heat of the fire like parchment. I also did see a poor cat taken out of a hole in a chimney, joyning to the wall of the Exchange, with the hair all burned off the body, and yet alive. So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office; but great endeavours of watching all night, and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and had drink and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down and slept a good night about midnight, though when I rose I heard that there had been a great alarme of French and Dutch being risen, which proved nothing. But it is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been always full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it looked like a week or more, and I had forgot almost the day of the week.

6th. Up about five o'clock, and there met Mr. Gauden at the gate of the office (I intending to go out, as I used, every now and then to-day, to see how the fire is) to call our men to Bishop's-gate, where no fire had yet been near, and there is now one broke out: which did give great grounds to people, and to me too, to think that there is some kind of plot in this (on which many by this time have been taken, and it hath been dangerous for any stranger to walk in the streets), but I went with the men, and we did put it out in a little time; so that that was well again. It was pretty to see how hard the women did work in the cannells, sweeping of water; but then they would scold for drink, and be as drunk as devils. I saw good butts of sugar broke open in the street, and people go and take handsfull

¹ Buckled, *i.e.*, bent, in which sense it is used by Shakespeare, "Henry IV.," part ii. act i. scene 1.

out, and put into beer, and drink it. And now all being pretty well, I took boat, and over to Southwarke, and took boat on the other side the bridge, and so to Westminster, thinking to shift myself, being all in dirt from top to bottom; but could not there find any place to buy a shirt or pair of gloves, Westminster Hall being full of people's goods, those in Westminster having removed all their goods, and the Exchequer money put into vessels to carry to Nonsuch;¹ but to the Swan, and there was trimmed; and then to White Hall, but saw nobody; and so home. A sad sight to see how the River looks: no houses nor church near it, to the Temple, where it stopped. At home, did go with Sir W. Batten, and our neighbour, Knightly (who, with one more, was the only man of any fashion left in all the neighbourhood thereabouts, they all removing their goods and leaving their houses to the mercy of the fire), to Sir R. Ford's, and there dined in an earthen platter—a fried breast of mutton; a great many of us, but very merry, and indeed as good a meal, though as ugly a one, as ever I had in my life. Thence down to Deptford, and there with great satisfaction landed all my goods at Sir G. Carteret's safe, and nothing missed I could see, or hurt. This being done to my great content, I home, and to Sir W. Batten's, and there with Sir R. Ford, Mr. Knightly, and one Withers, a professed lying rogue, supped well, and mighty merry, and our fears over. From them to the office, and there slept with the office full of labourers, who talked, and slept, and walked all night long there. But strange it was to see Clothworkers' Hall on fire these three days and nights in one body of flame, it being the cellar full of oyle.

¹ Nonsuch House, near Epsom, where the Exchequer had been kept during the Plague.

7th. Up by five o'clock; and, blessed be God! find all well; and by water to Paul's Wharfe. Walked thence, and saw all the towne burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St. Fayth's; Paul's school also, Ludgate, and Fleetstreet, my father's house, and the church, and a good part of the Temple the like. So to Creed's lodging, near the New Exchange, and there find him laid down upon a bed; the house all unfurnished, there being fears of the fire's coming to them. There borrowed a shirt of him, and washed. To Sir W. Coventry, at St. James's, who lay without curtains, having removed all his goods; as the King at White Hall, and every body had done, and was doing. He hopes we shall have no publique distractions upon this fire, which is what every body fears, because of the talke of the French having a hand in it. And it is a proper time for discontents; but all men's minds are full of care to protect themselves, and save their goods: the militia is in arms every where. Our fleetes, he tells me, have been in sight one of another, and most unhappily by fowle weather were parted, to our great losse, as in reason they do conclude; the Dutch being come out only to make a shew, and please their people; but in very bad condition as to stores, victuals, and men. They are at Boulogne, and our fleete come to St. Ellen's. We have got nothing, but have lost one ship, but he knows not what. Thence to the Swan, and there drank; and so home, and find all well. My Lord Brouncker, at Sir W. Batten's, tells us the Generall¹ is sent for up, to come to advise with the King about business at this juncture, and to keep all quiet; which is great honour to him, but I am

¹ The Duke of Albemarle.

sure is but a piece of dissimulation. So home, and did give orders for my house to be made clean ; and then down to Woolwich, and there find all well. Dined, and Mrs. Markham came to see my wife. This day our Merchants first met at Gresham College, which, by proclamation, is to be their Exchange. Strange to hear what is bid for houses all up and down here ; a friend of Sir W. Rider's having 150*l.* for what he used to let for 40*l.* per annum. Much dispute where the Custome-house shall be ; thereby the growth of the City again to be foreseen. My Lord Treasurer, they say, and others, would have it at the other end of the towne. I home late to Sir W. Pen's, who did give me a bed ; but without curtains or hangings, all being down. So here I went the first time into a naked bed, only my drawers on ; and did sleep pretty well : but still both sleeping and waking had a fear of fire in my heart, that I took little rest. People do all the world over cry out of the simplicity of my Lord Mayor in generall ; and more particularly in this business of the fire, laying it all upon him. A proclamation is come out for markets to be kept at Leadenhall and Mile-end-green, and several other places about the towne ; and Tower-hill, and all churches to be set open to receive poor people.

8th. Up and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen by water to White Hall and they to St. James's. I stopped with Sir G. Carteret to desire him to go with us, and to enquire after money. But the first he cannot do, and the other as little, or says, "when we can get any, or what shall we do for it?" He, it seems, is employed in the correspondence between the City and the King every day, in settling of things. I find him full of trouble, to think how things will go. I left him, and to St. James's, where we met first at Sir W. Coventry's

chamber, and there did what business we can, without any books. Our discourse, as every thing else, was confused. The fleete is at Portsmouth, there staying a wind to carry them to the Downes, or towards Boulogne, where they say the Dutch fleete is gone, and stays. We concluded upon private meetings for a while, not having any money to satisfy any people that may come to us. I bought two eeles upon the Thames, cost me six shillings. Thence with Sir W. Batten to the Cock-pit, whither the Duke of Albemarle is come. It seems the King holds him so necessary at this time, that he hath sent for him, and will keep him here. Indeed, his interest in the City, being acquainted, and his care in keeping things quiet, is reckoned that wherein he will be very serviceable. We to him : he is courted in appearance by every body. He very kind to us ; and I perceive he lays by all business of the fleete at present, and minds the City, and is now hastening to Gresham College, to discourse with the Aldermen. Sir W. Batten and I home (where met by my brother John, come to town to see how things are with us), and then presently he with me to Gresham College ; where infinity of people, partly through novelty to see the new place, and partly to find out and hear what is become one man of another. I met with many people undone, and more that have extraordinary great losses. People speaking their thoughts variously about the beginning of the fire, and the rebuilding of the City. Then to Sir W. Batten's, and took my brother with me, and there dined with a great company of neighbours, and much good discourse ; among others, of the low spirits of some rich men in the City, in sparing any encouragement to the poor people that wrought for the saving their houses. Among others, Alderman Starling, a very rich man, without children, the fire

at next door to him in our lane, after our men had saved his house, did give 2s. 6d. among thirty of them, and did quarrel with some that would remove the rubbish out of the way of the fire, saying that they came to steal. Sir W. Coventry told me of another this morning in Holborne, which he showed the King : that when it was offered to stop the fire near his house for such a reward that came but to 2s. 6d. a man among the neighbours he would give but 18d. Thence to Bednall Green by coach, my brother with me, and saw all well there, and fetched away my journall-book to enter for five days past. I was much frightened and kept awake in my bed, by some noise I heard a great while below stairs ; and the boys not coming up to me when I knocked. It was by their discovery of some people stealing of some neighbours' wine that lay in vessels in the streets. So to sleep ; and all well all night.

9th. (Sunday.) Up ; and was trimmed, and sent my brother to Woolwich to my wife, to dine with her. I to church, where our parson made a melancholy but good sermon ; and many and most in the church cried, specially the women. The church mighty full ; but few of fashion, and most strangers. I walked to Bednall Green, and there dined well, but a bad venison pasty at Sir W. Rider's. Good people they are, and good discourse ; and his daughter, Middleton, a fine woman, discreet. Thence home, and to church again, and there preached Dean Harding ;¹ but, methinks, a bad, poor sermon, though proper for the time ; nor eloquent, in saying at this time that the City is reduced from a large folio to a decimo-tertio. So to my office, there to write down my journall, and take leave of my brother, whom I sent back this afternoon, though rainy ; which it hath not done a good while before. But I had no room

¹ Nathaniel Hardy, Dean of Rochester.

or convenience for him here till my house is fitted ; but I was very kind to him, and do take very well of him his journey. I did give him 40s. for his pocket, and so, he being gone, and, it presently raining, I was troubled for him, though it is good for the fyre. Anon to Sir W. Pen's to bed, and made my boy Tom to read me asleep.

10th. All the morning clearing our cellars, and breaking in pieces all my old lumber, to make room, and to prevent fire. And then to Sir W. Batten's, and dined ; and there hear that Sir W. Rider says that the towne is full of the report of the wealth that is in his house, and would be glad that his friends would provide for the safety of their goods there. This made me get a cart ; and thither, and there brought my money all away. Took a hackney-coach myself (the hackney-coaches now standing at Allgate). Much wealth indeed there is at his house. Blessed be God, I got all mine well thence, and lodged it in my office ; but vexed to have all the world see it. And with Sir W. Batten, who would have taken away my hands before they were stowed. But by and by comes brother Balty from sea, which I was glad of ; and so got him, and Mr. Tooker, and the boy, to watch with them all in the office all night, while I went down to my wife to Woolwich, and there find my wife out of humour and indifferent, as she uses upon her having much liberty abroad.

11th. Lay there, and up betimes, and by water with my gold, and laid it with the rest in my office. In the evening at Sir W. Pen's, with my wife, at supper : he in a mad, ridiculous, drunken humour ; and it seems there have been some late distances between his lady and him, as my wife tells me. After supper, I home, and with Mr. Hater, Gibson,¹ and Tom alone, got all my chests and money into

¹ Probably Clerk of the Cheque at Deptford in 1688.

the further cellar with much pains, but great content to me when done. So very late and weary to bed.

12th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen to St. James's by water, and there did our usual business with the Duke of York. Away home, and to dinner, with Balty and his wife. After dinner I took him down with me to Deptford, and there, by the Bezan, loaded above half my goods, and sent them away.

13th. Up, and down to Tower Wharfe; and there, with Balty and labourers from Deptford, did get my goods housed well at home. So down to Deptford again to fetch the rest, and there eat a bit of dinner at the Globe, with the master of the Bezan with me, while the labourers went to dinner. Here I hear that this poor towne do bury still of the plague seven or eight in a day. So to Sir G. Carteret's to work, and there did to my content ship off into the Bezan all the rest of my goods, saving my pictures and fine things, that I will bring home in wherrys when the house is fit to receive them: and so home, and unload them by carts and hands before night, to my exceeding satisfaction: and so after supper to bed in my house, the first time I have lain there; and lay with my wife in my old closett upon the ground, and Balty and his wife in the best chamber, upon the ground also.

14th. Up, and to work, having carpenters come to helpe in setting up bedsteads and hangings; and at that trade my people and I all the morning, till pressed by publique business to leave them against my will in the afternoon: and yet I was troubled in being at home, to see all my goods lie up and down the house in a bad condition, and strange workmen going to and fro might take what they would almost. All the afternoon busy; and Sir W. Coventry came to me, and found me, as God

would have it, in my office, and people about me setting my papers to rights; and there discoursed about getting an account ready against the Parliament, and thereby did create me infinite of business, and to be done on a sudden; which troubled me: but, however, he being gone, I about it late, and to good purpose. And so home, having this day also got my wine out of the ground again, and set in my cellar; but with great pain to keep the porters that carried it in from observing the money-chests there. This day, poor Tom Pepys, the turner, was with me, and Kate Joyce, to bespeake places; one for himself, the other for her husband. She tells me he hath lost 140*l.* per annum, but hath seven houses left.

15th. All the morning at the office. Dined with Sir W. Batten. Wrote near thirty letters and orders with my owne hand. At it till eleven at night; and it is strange to see how clear my head was, being eased of all the matter of all these letters; whereas one would think that I should have been dazed. I never did observe so much of myself in my life. In the evening there comes to me Captain Cocke, and walked a good while in the garden. He says he hath computed that the rents of houses lost this fire in the City comes to 600,000*l.* per annum; that this will make the Parliament more quiet than otherwise they would have been, and give the King a more ready supply; that the supply must be by excise, as it is in Holland; that the Parliament will see it necessary to carry on the warr; that the late storm hindered our beating the Dutch fleete, who were gone out only to satisfy the people, having no business to do but avoid us; that the French, as late in the yeare as it is, are coming; that the Dutch are really in bad condition, but that this unhappinesse of ours do give them heart; that there was a late difference between my Lord Arlington and Sir W. Coventry about

neglect in the latter to send away an express of the other's in time ; that it came before the King, and the Duke of York concerned himself in it ; but this fire hath stopped it. The Dutch fleete is not gone home, but rather to the North, and so dangerous to our Gottenburgh fleete. That the Parliament is likely to fall foul upon some persons ; and, among others, on the Vice-chamberlaine,¹ though we both believe with little ground. That certainly never so great a loss as this was borne so well by citizens in the world ; he believing that not one merchant upon the 'Change will break upon it. That he do not apprehend there will be any disturbances in State upon it ; for that all men are busy in looking after their owne business to save themselves. He gone, I to finish my letters, and home to bed ; and find to my infinite joy many rooms clean ; and myself and wife lie in our own chamber again. But much terrified in the nights now-a-days with dreams of fire, and falling down of houses.

16th (Lord's day). At noon, with my wife, against her will, all undressed and dirty, dined at Sir W. Pen's, where was all the company of our families in towne ; but, Lord ! so sorry a dinner : venison baked in pans, that the dinner I have had for his lady alone hath been worth four of it. Thence, after dinner, displeased with our entertainment, to my office again, and there till almost midnight, and then home, my head aching mightily about our accounts.

17th. Up betimes, and shaved myself after a week's growth : but, Lord ! how ugly I was yesterday and how fine to-day ! By water, seeing the City all the way, a sad sight indeed, much fire being still in. To Sir W. Coventry, and there read over my yesterday's work : being a collection of the

¹ Sir G. Carteret.

particulars of the excesses of charge created by a war, with great content. Sir W. Coventry was in great pain lest the French fleete should be passed by our fleete, who had notice of them on Saturday, and were preparing to go meet them; but their minds altered, and judged them merchant-men, when the same day the Success, Captain Ball, made their whole fleete, and came to Brighthelmstone, and thence at five o'clock afternoon, Saturday, wrote Sir W. Coventry newes thereof; so that we do much fear our missing them. Here came in and talked with him Sir Thomas Clifford,¹ who appears a very fine gentleman, and much set by at Court for his activity in going to sea, and stoutness every where, and stirring up and down. Thence by coach over the ruines, down Fleete Streete and Cheapside to Broad Streete to Sir G. Carteret. Thence, after some discourse with him upon our publique accounts, I back home, and all the day with Harman and his people finishing the hangings and beds in my house. They gone and I weary, my wife and I, and Balty and his wife, who came hither to-day to helpe us, to a barrel of oysters, and so to bed.

18th. It was a sad rainy and tempestuous night. I did my business in the afternoon, in forwarding the settling of my house, very well. Troubled at my wife's haire coming off so much. This day the Parliament met, and adjourned till Friday, when the King will be with them.

19th. To St. James's, and did our usual business before the Duke of York; which signified little, our

¹ Eldest son of Hugh Clifford, Esq., of Ugbrooke, M.P. for Totness, 1661, and knighted for his conduct in the sea-fight 1665. After filling several high offices, he was, in 1672, created Baron Clifford of Chudleigh, and constituted High Treasurer, which place he resigned the following year, a few months before his death.

business being only complaints of lack of money. Here I saw a bastard of the late King of Sweden's come to kiss his hands ; a mighty modish French-like gentleman. Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Batten and W. Pen, to Wilkes's ; and there did hear many stories of Sir Henry Wood,¹ about Lord Norwich drawing a tooth at a health. Another time, he and Pinchbacke and Dr. Goffe,² now a religious man, Pinchbacke did begin a frolick to drink out of a glass with a toad in it : he did it without harm. Goffe, who knew sacke would kill the toad, called for sacke ; and when he saw it dead, says he, " I will have a quick toad, and will not drink from a dead toad."³ By that means, no other being to be found, he escaped the health. Thence home, and dined, and to Deptford and got all my pictures put into wherries, and my other fine things, and landed them all very well, and brought them home, and got Sympson to set them all up to-night ; and he gone, and I and the boy to finish and set up my books, and every else in my house, till two o'clock in the morning, and then to bed ; but mightily troubled, and even in my sleep, at my missing four or five of my biggest books, Speed's Chronicle and Maps, and the two parts of Waggoner,⁴ and a book of cards, which I suppose I have put up with too much care, that I have forgot where they are, for sure, they are not stole. Two

¹ Clerk of the Spicery to Charles I., and after the Restoration, Clerk to the Board of Green Cloth.

² Dr. Stephen Goffe, Clerk of the Queen's Closet, and her Assistant Confessor. He had been Chaplain to Colonel Goring, but became, in 1641, a Roman Catholic.—EVELYN'S *Diary*, vol. i. p. 19, edit. 1850.

³ They swallow their own contradictions as easily as a hector can drink a frog in a glass of wine.—*Bentivoglio and Urania*, book v. p. 92, 3rd edit.

⁴ Apparently Wagenaer's "*Speculum Nauticum*," published at Leyden in 1585, and translated into English by Anthony Ashley about the year 1588.

little pictures of sea and ships, and a little gilt frame belonging to my plate of the River, I want ; but my books do heartily trouble me. Most of my gilt frames are hurt, which also troubles me. This day I put on two shirts, the first time this year, and do grow well upon it ; so that my disease is nothing but wind.

20th. Up to the setting to my closett to rights, and Sir W. Coventry takes me at it, which did not displease me. He and I to discourse about our accounts, and the bringing them to the Parliament, and with much content to see him rely so well on my part. To Sir Carteret, he tells me how the fleete is come into the Downes. Nothing done, nor French fleete seen : we drove all from our anchors. But he says newes is come that De Ruyter is dead, or very near it, of a hurt in his mouth, upon the discharge of one of his own guns ; which put him into a fever, and he likely to die, if not already dead. In the afternoon, out by coach, my wife with me through all the ruines, to shew her them, which frets her much, and is a sad sight indeed. Set her down at her brother's, and thence I to Westminster Hall, and there staid a little while, and called her home. She did give me an account of great differences between her mother and Balty's wife. The old woman charges her with going abroad and staying out late, and painting in the absence of her husband, and I know not what ; and they grow proud, both he and she, and do not help their father and mother out of what I help them to, which I do not like, nor my wife. So home, and to the office, to even my journall, and then home.

21st. Up, and mightily pleased with the setting of my books the last night in order, and that which did please me most of all is that W. Hewer tells me that upon enquiry he do find that Sir W. Pen hath a

hamper more than his own, which he took for a hamper of bottles of wine, and are books in it. I was impatient to see it, but they were carried into a wine-cellar, and the boy is abroad with him at the House, where the Parliament met to-day, and the King to be with them. At noon after dinner I sent for Harry, and he tells me it is so, and brought me by and by my hamper of books to my great joy, with the same books I missed, and three more great ones, and no more. I did give him 5s. for his pains. And so home with great joy, and there after a little doing at the office about our accounts, which now draw near the time they should be ready, the House having ordered Sir G. Carteret, upon his offering them, to bring them in on Saturday next, home, and there, with great pleasure, very late new setting all my books; and now I am in as good condition as I desire to be in all worldly respects. The Lord of Heaven make thankfull, and continue me therein!

22nd. My house is so clean as I never saw it, or any other house in my life, and every thing in as good condition as ever before the fire; but with, I believe, about 20*l.* cost one way or other, besides about 20*l.* charge in removing my goods, and do not find that I have lost any thing but two little pictures of ships and sea, and a little gold frame for one of my sea-cards. My glazier, indeed, is so full of worke that I cannot get him to come to perfect my house. To the office, and there busy now for good and all about my accounts. My Lord Brouncker came thither. He do now give me a watch, a plain one, in the roome of my former watch with many moulds which I did give him. If it goes well, I care not for the difference in worth, though I believe there is 5*l.* In the afternoon comes Anthony Joyce to see me, and with tears told me his losse, but yet that he had something left that he can live well upon,

and I doubt it not. But he would buy some place that he could have, and yet keepe his trade. He gone, I to the office again, and then to Sir G. Carteret, and there found Mr. Wayth, but, Lord! how fretfully Sir G. Carteret do discourse with Mr. Wayth about his accounts, like a man that understands them not one word. I held my tongue and let him go on like a passionate foole. In the afternoon I paid for the two lighters that carried my goods to Deptford, and they cost me 8/. Till past midnight at our accounts, and have brought them to a good issue, but must work to-morrow, which T. Hater had no mind to, it being the Lord's day, but, being told the necessity, permitted, poor man! This day wrote for brother John to come to towne. Among other reasons, my estate lying in money, I am afraid of any sudden miscarriage. So to bed mightily contented in dispatch of so much business.

23rd. (Lord's day.) Up, and after being trimmed, all the morning at the office till about one o'clock, and then home, and my people with me, and Mr. Wayth and I eat a bit of victuals, and my house being so clean makes me mightily pleased, but only I do lacke Mercer or somebody in the house to sing with. As soon as eat a bit Mr. Wayth and I by water to White Hall, and there at Sir G. Carteret's lodgings Sir W. Coventry met, and we did debate the whole business of our accounts to the Parliament; where it appears to us that the charge of the war from September 1st, 1664, to this Michaelmas, will have been but 3,200,000/., and we have paid in that time somewhat about 2,200,000/.; so that we owe above 900,000/.: but our method of accounting, though it cannot, I believe, be far wide from the mark, yet will not abide a strict examination if the Parliament should be troublesome. Here happened a pretty question of Sir W. Coventry, whether this

account of ours will not put my Lord Treasurer to a difficulty to tell what is become of all the money the Parliament have given in this time for the war, which hath amounted to about 4,000,000*l.*, which nobody there could answer ; but I perceive they did doubt what his answer could be. Having done, Wayth and I back again, and my wife and I for pleasure to Fox-hall, and there eat and drank, and so back home, and I to the office till night drawing the letter we are to send with our account to my Lord Treasurer, and that being done to my mind, I home to bed.

24th. To St. James's, and up and down to look for Sir W. Coventry ; and at last found him and Sir G. Carteret with the Lord Treasurer at White Hall, consulting how to make up my Lord Treasurer's general account, as well as that of the Navy particularly. Here I brought the letter, but found that Sir G. Carteret had altered his account since he did give me the abstract of it : so all my letter must be writ over again. So to Sir G. Carteret's lodgings, to speak a little about the alteration ; and there looking over the book Sir G. Carteret intends to deliver to the Parliament of his payments since September 1st, 1664, I find my name the very second for flags, which I had bought for the Navy, of calico, once, about 500 and odd pounds, which vexed me mightily. At last, I concluded of scraping out my name and putting in Mr. Tooker's, which eased me ; though the price was such as I should have had glory by. Here I saw my Lady Carteret lately come to towne, who, good lady ! is mighty kind, and I must make much of her, for she is a most excellent woman.

25th. Up betimes, with all my people to get the letter writ over, and other things done, which I did, and by coach to Lord Brouncker's, and got his hand

to it ; and then to the Parliament House and got it signed by the rest, and then delivered it at the House-door to Sir Philip Warwicke ; Sir G. Carteret being gone into the House with his book of accounts under his arme, to present to the House. I had brought my wife to White Hall, and leaving her with Mrs. Michell, where she sat in her shop and had burnt wine sent for her, I walked in the Hall, and among others with Ned Pickering, who continues still a lying, bragging, coxcombe, telling me that my Lord Sandwich may thank himself for all his misfortune ; for not suffering him and two or three good honest fellows more to take them by the throats that spoke ill of him, and told me how basely Lionell Walden¹ hath carried himself towards my Lord, by speaking slightly of him, which I shall remember. Thence took my wife home to dinner, and then to the office, and late at night to Mrs. Turner's, where she had got my wife and Lady Pen and Pegg, and supped, and after supper and the rest of the company by design gone, Mrs. Turner and her husband did lay their case to me about their lodgings, Sir J. Minnes being now gone wholly to his owne, and now, they being empty, they doubt Sir T. Harvy or Lord Brouncker may look after the lodgings. I did give them the best advice, poor people, that I could, and would do them any kindness, though it is strange that now they should have ne'er a friend of Sir W. Batten or Sir W. Pen to trust to but me, that they have disoblighed. So home to bed, and all night still mightily troubled in my sleepe with fire and houses pulling down.

26th. Up, and with Sir J. Minnes by coach to St. James's where every body going to the House, I away by coach to White Hall, and after a few turns,

¹ M.P. for Huntingdon.

and hearing that our accounts came into the House but to-day, I away by coach home, taking up my wife and calling at Bennet's, our late mercer, who is come into Covent Garden to a fine house looking down upon the Exchange; and I perceive many Londoners every day come; and Mr. Pierce hath let his wife's closett, and the little blind bed-chamber, and a garret to a silke man for 50*l.* fine, and 30*l.* per annum, and 40*l.* per annum more for dieting the master and two prentices. By Mr. Dugdale¹ I hear the great loss of books in St. Paul's Church-yarde, and at their Hall also, which they value at about 150,000*l.*; some booksellers being wholly undone, and among others, they say, my poor Kirton. And Mr. Crumlum,² all his books and household stuff burned; they trusting to St. Fayth's, and the roof of the church falling, broke the arch down into the lower church, and so all the goods burned. A very great loss. His father³ hath lost above 1,000*l.* in books; one book newly printed, a Discourse, it seems, of Courts. Here I had the hap to see my Lady Denham: and at night went into the dining-room and saw several fine ladies; among others, Castlemaine, but chiefly Denham again; and the Duke of York taking her aside and talking to her in the sight of all the world, all alone; which was strange, and what also I did not like. Here I met with good Mr. Evelyn, who cries out against it, and calls it bitchering, for the Duke of York talks a little to her, and then she goes away, and then he follows

¹ John Dugdale, Chief Gentleman of the Chamber to Lord Chancellor Clarendon, and afterwards Windsor Herald. He died in 1700.

² Samuel Cromleholme, or Crumlum, Master of St. Paul's School.

³ William Dugdale, then Norroy Herald, knighted in 1676-7 and made Garter King-at-Arms. The work alluded to was the "*Origines Juridiciales*."

her again like a dog. He observes that none of the nobility come out of the country at all to help the King, or comfort him, or prevent commotions at this fire; but do as if the King were nobody; nor ne'er a priest comes to give the King and Court good council, or to comfort the poor people that suffer; but all is dead, nothing of good in any of their minds: he bemoans it, and says he fears more ruin hangs over our heads. Thence away by coach, and called my wife at Unthank's, where she tells me she hath bought a gowne of 15s. per yard; the same, before her face, my Lady Castlemaine this day bought also, which I seemed vexed for, though I do not grudge it her, but to incline her to have Mercer again, which I believe I shall do, but the girle, I hear, has no mind to come to us again, which vexes me. Being come home, I to Sir W. Batten's, and there hear our business was tendered to the House to-day, and a Committee of the whole House chosen to examine our accounts, and a great many Hotspurs enquiring into it, and likely to give us much trouble and blame, and perhaps (which I am afeard of) will find faults enow to demand better officers. This I do truly fear. Thence away with Sir W. Pen, who was there, and he and I walked in the garden by moonlight, and he proposes his and my looking out into Scotland about timber, and to use Pett there; for timber will be a good commodity this time of building the City; and I like the motion, and doubt not that we may do good in it. I was mightily pleased with our discourse, and so parted, and to the office to finish my journall for three or four days, and so home to supper, and to bed. Our fleete abroad, and the Dutch too, for all we know; the weather very bad; and under the command of an unlucky man, I fear. God bless him, and the fleete under him!

27th. A very furious blowing night all the night ; and my mind still mightily perplexed with dreams, and burning the rest of the town, and waking in much pain for the fleete. I to look out Penny, my tailor, to speak for a cloak and cassock for my brother, who is coming to town ; and I will have him in a canonical dress, that he may be the fitter to go abroad with me. I then to the Exchequer, and there, among other things, spoke to Mr. Falconbridge about his girle I heard sing at Non-such, and took him and some other Exchequer men to the Sun Taverne, and there spent 2s. 6d. upon them, and he sent for the girle, and she has a pretty way of singing, but has almost forgot for want of practice. She is poor in clothes, and not bred to any carriage, but will be soon taught all, and if Mercer do not come again, I think we may have her upon better terms, and breed her to what we please. Thence to Sir W. Coventry's, and there dined with him and Sir W. Batten, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and Mr. Thin,¹ a pretty gentleman, going to Gottenburgh. Having dined, Sir W. Coventry, Sir W. Batten, and I to consider of some things more to be done in a list to be given to the Parliament of all our ships, and time of entry and discharge. Sir W. Coventry seems to think they will soon be weary of the business, and fall quietly into the giving the King what is fit. This he hopes. Thence home to the office till night, and thence to Sir W. Batten's, and eat a barrel of oysters I did give them, and so home, and to bed. No newes of the fleete yet, but that they went by Dover on the 25th towards the Gun-fleete, but

¹ Thomas Thynne, Envoy Extraordinary to Sweden. He was the eldest son of Sir Thomas Thynne, Bart., of Kempsford, by Mary, daughter of Thomas, first Lord Coventry, and on the murder of his cousin, Thomas Thynne, of Longleate, succeeded to all his possessions. In 1692 he was created Viscount Weymouth, and died in 1714, æt. 74.

whether the Dutch be yet abroad, or no, we hear not. De Ruyter is not dead, but like to do well. Most think that the gross of the French fleete are gone home again.

28th. Lay long in bed, and am come to agreement with my wife to have Mercer again, on condition she may learn this winter two months to dance, and she promises me she will endeavour to learn to sing, and all this I am willing enough to. So up, and by and by the glazier comes to finish the windows of my house, which pleases me, and the bookbinder to gild the backs of my books. I got the glass of my book-presses to be done presently, which did mightily content me; and so to my office to my people, busy about our Parliament accounts; and so to dinner, and then at them again close. At night comes Sir W. Pen, and he broke to me a proposition of his and my joining in a design of fetching timber and deals from Scotland, by the help of Mr. Pett upon the place; which, while London is building, will yield good money. I approve it. We judged a third man, that is knowing, is necessary, and concluded on Sir W. Warren, and sent for him to come to us tomorrow morning. I full of this all night, and the project of our man of war; but he and I both dissatisfied with Sir W. Batten's proposing his son to be Lieutenant, which we, neither of us, like. He gone, I discoursed with W. Hewer about Mercer, having a great mind she should come to us again, and instructed him what to say to her mother about it. And so home, to supper, and to bed.

29th. A little meeting at the office by Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and myself, being the first since the fire. We rose soon, and comes Sir W. Warren, by our desire, and with Sir W. Pen and I talked of our Scotch motion, which Sir W. Warren did seem to be stumbled at, and did give no ready answer,

but proposed something previous to it, which he knows would find us work, or writing to Mr. Pett to be informed how matters go there as to cost and ways of providing sawyers or saw-mills. We parted without coming to any good resolution in it, I discerning plainly that Sir W. Warren had no mind to it, but that he was surprised at our motion. He gone, I to some office business, and got done by night the lists that are to be presented to the Parliament Committee of the ships, number of men, and time employed since the war, and then I with it to St. James's, where Sir W. Coventry staid for me, and he and I perused our lists, and find to our great joy that the wages, victuals, wear and tear, cast by the medium of the men, will come to above 3,000,000; and that the extraordinaries, which all the world will allow us, will arise to more than will justify the expence we have declared to have been at since the war, viz., 320,000*l.*, he and I being both mightily satisfied, he saying to me, that if God send us over this rubb, we must take another course for a better Comptroller. So we parted, and I to my wife at Unthanke's, who staid for the finishing her new best gowne (the best that ever I made her), coloured tabby, flowered, and so took it and her home; and then to my people, and having cut them out a little more work than they expected, viz., the writing over the lists in a new method, I home to bed, being in good humour, and glad of the end we have brought this matter to.

30th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church, where I have not been a good while: and there the church infinitely thronged with strangers since the fire came into our parish; but not one handsome face in all of them, as if, indeed, there was a curse, as Bishop Fuller heretofore said, upon our parish. Here I saw Mercer come into the church, which I

had a mind to, but she avoided looking up, which vexed me. A pretty good sermon, and then home, and a good dinner; and then to have my haire cut against winter close to my head, and then to church again. A sorry sermon, and then away home. W. Pen and I to walk to talk about several businesses, and then home; and my wife and I to read in Fuller's Church History, and so to supper and to bed. This month ends with my mind full of business and concernment how this office will speed with the Parliament, which begins to be mighty severe in the examining our accounts, and the expence of the Navy this war.

October 1st. All the morning at the office, getting the list of all the ships and vessels employed since the war, for the Committee of Parliament. At noon with it to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there dined with him. Thence I to White Hall, and there did hear Betty Michell was at this end of the towne, and so without breach of vowe did stay to endeavour to meet with her and carry her home; but she did not come, so I lost my whole afternoon. But pretty! how I took another pretty woman for her, taking her a clap on the breech, thinking verily it had been her. So away home, and my wife do tell me that W. Hewer tells her that Mercer has no mind to come. So I was angry at it, and resolved with her to have Falconbridge's girle, and I think it will be better for us, and will please me better with singing. With this resolution, to supper and to bed.

2nd. Up, and am sent for to Sir G. Carteret, and to him, and there he tells me how our lists are referred to a Sub-committee to consider and examine, and that I am ordered to be there this afternoon. So I away to White Hall to the House, and spoke to Sir W. Coventry, where he told me I must attend

the Committee in the afternoon, and received some hints of more work to do. So I away to the Exchequer, and thence to an alehouse, and found Mr. Falconbrige, and agreed for his kinswoman to come to me. He says she can dress my wife, and will do anything we would have her to do, and is of a good spirit and mighty cheerful. So away home, and eat a short dinner, and then with Sir W. Pen to White Hall, and do give his boy my book of papers to hold while he went into the Committee Chamber in the Inner Court of Wards, and I walked without with Mr. Slingsby, of the Tower, who did inform me mightily in several things; among others, that the heightening or lowering of money is only a cheat, and do good to some particular men, which, if I can but remember how, I am now by him fully convinced of. I into the Committee Chamber before the Committee sat, and there heard Birch discourse highly and understandingly about the Navy business and a proposal made heretofore to farm the Navy; but Sir W. Coventry did abundantly answer him, and is a most excellent person. By and by the Committee met, and appointed me to attend a Committee of them to-morrow at the office to examine our lists. This put me into a mighty fear and trouble, they doing it in a very ill humour, methought. So I away home full of trouble in mind to think what I shall be obliged to answer, that am neither fully fit, nor in any measure concerned to take the shame and trouble of this office upon me, but only from the inability and folly of the Comptroller that occasions it. When come home I to Sir W. Pen's, to his boy, for my book, and there find he hath it not, but delivered it to the doore-keeper of the Committee for me. This, added to my former disgust, made me stark mad, considering all the nakedness of the office lay open in papers within these covers. I

could not tell in the world what to do, but was mad on all sides, and that which made me worse Captain Cocke was there, and he did so curse and swear at the boy that told me. But coming to our rendezvous at the Swan Taverne, in King Streete, I found they have found the housekeeper, and the book simply locked up in the Court. So I staid and drank, and rewarded the doore-keeper, and away home, my heart lighter by all this, but to bed very sad notwithstanding, in fear of what will happen to-morrow.

3rd. Waked betimes, mightily troubled in mind, and in the most true trouble that I ever was in my life, saving in the business last year of the East India prizes. So up; and by and by, by eight o'clock, comes Birch, the first, with the lists and books of accounts delivered in. He calls me to work, and there he and I begun, when, by and by, comes Garraway,¹ the first time I ever saw him, and Sir W. Thompson and Mr. Boscawen. They to it, and I did make shift to answer them better than I expected. Sir W. Batten, Lord Brouncker, W. Pen, came in, but presently went out; and J. Minnes came in, and said two or three words from the purpose, but to do hurt; and so away he went also, and left me all the morning with them alone to stand or fall. At noon Sir W. Batten comes to invite them (though fast day) to dinner, which they did, and good company they were, but especially Garraway. After dinner to work again, only the Committee and I, till dark night. And it ended with good peace, and much seeming satisfaction; but I find them wise and reserved, and instructed to hit all

¹ He was an M.P., and appointed by the House to confer with Lord Shaftesbury respecting the charge against Pepys being popishly affected. See note to the Life, vol. i., and for his character, 6th October, 1666.

our blots, as among others, that we reckon the ships full manned from the beginning. They gone, and my heart eased of a great deale of fear and pain, and reckoning myself to come off with victory, because not overcome in anything or much foiled, I away to White Hall, and there among the ladies, and saw my Lady Castlemaine never looked so ill, nor Mrs. Stewart neither, as in this plain, natural dress. I was not pleased with either of them. So home, and there find my father and my brother come to towne—my father without my expectation; but glad I am to see him. And so to supper with him, and to work again at the office; then home, to set up all my folio books, which are come home gilt on the backs, very handsome to the eye. This night W. Pen told me W. Batten swears he will have nothing to do with the Privateer if his son do not go Lieutenant, which angers me and him; but we will be even with him, one way or other.

4th. Up, and mighty betimes, to Sir W. Coventry, to give him an account of yesterday's work, which do give him good content. He did then tell me his speech lately to the House in his owne vindication about the report of his selling of places, he having a small occasion offered him by chance, which he did desire, and took, and did it to his content, and, he says, to the House's seeming to approve of it by their hum. He confessed how long he had done it, and how he desired to have something else; and, since then, he had taken nothing, and challenged all the world. I was glad of this also. Thence up to the Duke of York, by appointment, with my fellow officers, to complaine, but to no purpose, of want of money, and so away. I to Sir G. Carteret, to his lodging, and here discoursed much of the want of money and our being designed for destruction. How the King hath lost his power, by submitting himself to

this way of examining his accounts, and is become but as a private man. He says the King is troubled at it, but they talk an entry¹ shall be made, that it is not to be brought into example; that the King must, if they do not agree presently, make them a courageous speech, which he says he may do, the City of London being now burned, and himself master of an army, better than any prince before him, and so I believe. Thence home, about noon. After dinner the bookbinder came, and I sent by him some more books to gild. I to the office all day, and spent most of it with Sir W. Warren, and when all is done I do find him a mighty wise man as any I know, and his counsel as much to be followed. Late with Mr. Hater upon comparing the charge and husbandry of the last Dutch war with ours now, and do find good roome to think we have done little worse than they, whereof good use may and will be made. So home to supper, and to bed.

5th. Up, and with my father talking awhile, then to the office, and there troubled with a message from Lord Peterborough about money; but I did give as kind an answer as I could, though I hate him. Then to Sir G. Carteret to discourse about paying of part of the great ships come in, and so home again to compare the comparison of the two Dutch wars' charges for Sir W. Coventry, and then by water (and saw old Mr. Michell digging like a painfull father for his son) to him, and found him at dinner. After dinner to look over my papers, and comparing them with some notes of his. Then examined and liked well my notes, and away together to White Hall, in the way discoursing the inconvenience of the King's being thus subject to an account, but it will be remedied for the time to come, he thinks, if

¹ In the Journals of the House of Commons.

we can get over this, and I find he will have the Comptroller's business better done, swearing he will never be for a wit to be employed on business again. Thence home, and back again to White Hall, and there walked till night that the Committee came down, and there Sir W. Coventry tells me that the Sub-committee have made their report to the Grand Committee, and in pretty kind terms, and have agreed upon allowing us 4*l.* per head, which I am sure will do the business. But I have more worke cut out for me, to prepare a list of the extraordinaries, not to be included within the 4*l.*, against Monday. So away, and met with the Vice-Chamberlain, and I told him I had this evening in coming hither met with Captain Cocke, and he told me of a wild motion made in the House of Lords by the Duke of Buckingham for all men that had cheated the King to be declared traitors and felons, and that my Lord Sandwich was named. This put me into a great pain; so the Vice-Chamberlain, who had heard nothing of it, having been all day in the City, away with me to White Hall; and there came to me and told me that, upon Lord Ashly's asking their direction whether, being a peer, he should bring in his accounts to the Commons, which they did give way to, the Duke of Buckingham did move that, for the time to come, what I have written above might be declared by some fuller law than heretofore. Lord Ashly answered, that it was not the fault of the present laws, but want of proof; and so said the Lord Chancellor. He answered, that a better law, he thought, might be made: so the House laughing, did refer it to him to bring in a Bill to that purpose, and this was all. This day, coming home, Mr. Kirton's kinsman, my bookseller, came in my way; and so I am told by him that Mr. Kirton is utterly undone, and made 2 or 3,000*l.*

worse than nothing, from being worth 7 or 8,000*l*. That the goods laid in the Churchyarde fired through the windows those in St. Fayth's church; and those coming to the warehouses' doors fired them, and burned all the books and the pillars of the church, so as the roof falling down, broke quite down, which it did not do in the other places of the church, which is alike pillared (which I knew not before); but being not burned, they stand still. He do believe there is above 150,000*l*. of books burned; all the great booksellers almost undone: not only these, but their warehouses at their Hall, and under Christchurch, and elsewhere being all burned. A great want thereof there will be of books, specially Latin books and foreign books; and, among others, the Polyglottes¹ and new Bible, which he believes will be presently worth 40*l*. a-piece.

6th. Up, and having seen my brother in his cas-socke, which I am not the most satisfied in, being doubtfull at this time what course to have him profess to soon, to the office and there busy about a list of the extraordinaries of the charge of the fleete this war; and was led to go to the office of the ordnance to be satisfied in something, and find their accounts and books kept in mighty good order, but that they can give no light, nor will the nature of their affairs permit it to tell what the charge of the ordnance comes to a man a month. So home and to dinner, there coming Creed to me; but what with business

¹ Bishop Walton's great work, published in 1657, entitled "Biblia Sacra Polyglotta," in six large folio volumes. Nine languages are used in it, though no one book of the Bible is printed in so many. It was printed by subscription, under the patronage of Oliver Cromwell; but the Protector dying before it was finished, the bishop cancelled two leaves of the preface commendatory of his patron, and others were printed complimentary to Charles II. Hence the distinction of *republican* and *loyal* copies. The former are the most valued.

and my hatred to the man, I did not spend any time with him, but to Westminster Hall and then to St. James's, and there found Sir W. Coventry waiting for me, and I did give him a good account to his mind of the business he expected about extraordinaries and then fell to other talke, among others, our sad condition by want of a Comptroller;¹ and it was his words, that he believes, besides all the shame and trouble he hath brought on the office, the King had better have given 100,000*l.* than ever have had him there. He did discourse about some of these discontented Parliament-men, and says that Birch is a false rogue, but that Garraway is a man that hath not been well used by the Court, though very stout to death, and hath suffered all that is possible for the King from the beginning. But discontented as he is, yet he never knew a Session of Parliament but he hath done some good deed for the King before it rose. I told him the passage Cocke told me of—his having begged a brace of bucks of the Lord Arlington for him, and when they came to him, he sent them back again. Sir W. Coventry told me, it is much to be pitied that the King should lose the service of a man so able and faithfull; and that he ought to be brought over, but that is always observed, that by bringing over one discontented man, you raise up three in his room; which is a State lesson I never knew before. But when others discover you fear, and that discontent procures favour, they will be discontented too, and impose on you. This morning my wife told me of a fine gentlewoman my Lady Pen tells her of, for 20*l.* per annum, that sings, dances, plays on four or five instruments and many other fine things, which pleases me mightily: and she sent to have her see

¹ Sir John Minnes performing the duties inefficiently.

her, which she did this afternoon ; but sings basely, and is a tawdry wench that would take 8*l*., but neither my wife nor I think her fit to come.

7th. (Lord's day.) To church, and then home to dinner. Little Michell and his wife came to dine with us. After dinner to White Hall, where met by Sir W. Batten and Lord Brouncker, to attend the King and Duke of York at the Cabinet ; but nobody had determined what to speak of, but only in general to ask for money. So I was forced immediately to prepare in my mind a method of discoursing. And anon we were called in to the Green Room, where the King, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Duke of Albemarle, Sirs G. Carteret, W. Coventry, Morrice. Nobody beginning, I did, and made a current, and I thought a good speech, laying open the ill state of the Navy : by the greatness of the debt ; greatness of work to do against next yeare ; the time and materials it would take ; and our incapacity, through a total want of money. I had no sooner done, but Prince Rupert rose up and told the King in a heat, that whatever the gentleman had said, he had brought home his fleete in as good a condition as ever any fleete was brought home ; that twenty boats would be as many as the fleete would want : and all the anchors and cables left in the storm might be taken up again. This arose from my saying, among other things we had to do, that the fleete was come in—the greatest fleete that ever his Majesty had yet together, and that in as bad condition as the enemy or weather could put it ; and to use Sir W. Pen's words, who is upon the place taking a survey, he dreads the reports he is to receive from the Surveyors of its defects. I therefore did only answer, that I was sorry for his Highness's offence, but that what I said was but the report we received from

those entrusted in the fleete to inform us. He muttered and repeated what he had said; and so, after a long silence on all hands, nobody, not so much as the Duke of Albemarle, seconding the Prince, nor taking notice of what he said, we withdrew. I was not a little troubled at this passage, and the more when speaking with Jacke Fenn about it, he told me that the Prince will be asking now who this Pepys is, and find him to be a creature of my Lord Sandwich's, and therefore this was done only to disparage him. Anon they broke up, and Sir W. Coventry came out; so I asked his advice. He told me he had said something to salve it, which was, that his Highnesse had, he believed, rightly informed the King that the fleete is in good condition to have staid out yet longer, and have fought the enemy, but yet that Mr. Pepys his meaning might be, that, though in so good condition, if they should come in and lie all the winter, we shall be very loth to send them to sea for another year's service without great repairs. He said it would be no hurt if I went to him, and showed him the report himself brought up from the fleete, where every ship, by the Commander's report, do need more or less, and not to mention more of Sir W. Pen for doing him a mischief. So I said I would, but do not think that all this will redound to my hurt, because the truth of what I said will soon appear. Thence, having been informed that, after all this pains, the King hath found out how to supply us with 5 or 6,000*l.*, when 100,000*l.* were at this time but absolutely necessary, and we mentioned 50,000*l.* This is every day a greater and greater omen of ruine. God fit us for it! Home to supper with my father, and then all to bed. I made my brother in his cassocke to say grace this day, but I like his voice so ill that I begin to be sorry he hath taken this order upon him.

8th. Towards noon, by water to Westminster Hall, and there by several hear that the Parliament do resolve to do something to retrench Sir G. Carteret's great salary; but cannot hear of any thing bad they can lay to his charge. The House did this day order to be engrossed the Bill against importing Irish cattle: a thing, it seems, carried on by the Western Parliament-men, wholly against the sense of most of the rest of the House; who think if you do this, you give the Irish again cause to rebel. Thus plenty on both sides makes us mad. The Committee of the Canary Company of both factions came to me for my Cozen Roger that is of the Committee. To Unthank's where Mr. Falconbridge's girl is, and by and by comes my wife who likes her well, though I confess I cannot (though she be of my finding out and sings pretty well), because she will be raised from so mean a condition to so high all of a sudden; but she will be much to our profit, more than Mercer, less expense. Here we bespoke a new gowne for her, and to come to us on Friday. I by water with Mr. Pierce to White Hall, he in the way telling me how the Duke of York and Duke of Albemarle do not agree. The Duke of York is wholly given up to this Denham. The Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert do less agree. So that we are all in pieces, and nobody knows what will be done the next year. The King hath yesterday in Council declared his resolution of setting a fashion for clothes, which he will never alter.¹ It will be a vest, I know not well how; but it is to teach the nobility thrift, and will do good. By and by comes down from the Committee Sir W. Coventry, and I find him troubled at several things happened this afternoon, which vexes me also; our business

¹ See 13th and 15th of this month.

looking worse and worse, and our worke growing on our hands. Time spending, and no money to set anything in hand with ; the end thereof must be speedy ruine. The Dutch insult and have taken off Bruant's head, which they have not dared to do (though found guilty of the fault he did die for, of something of the Prince of Orange's faction) till just now, which speaks more confidence in our being worse than before. Alderman Maynell, I hear, is dead. Thence returned in the darke by coach all alone, full of thoughts of the consequences of this ill complexion of affairs, and how to save myself and the little I have, which if I can do, I have cause to bless God that I am so well, and shall be well contented to retreat to Brampton, and spend the rest of my days there. So to my office, and finished my Journall with resolutions, if God bless me, to apply myself soberly to settle all matters for myself, and expect the event of all with comfort.

9th. To the office, where we sat the first day since the fire, I think. At noon home, and my uncle Thomas was there, and dined with my brother and I. At night to Sir W. Batten, where Sir R. Ford did occasion some discourse of sending a convoy to the Madeiras ; and this did put us upon some new thoughts of sending our privateer thither on merchants' accounts, which I have more mind to, the profit being certain and occasion honest withall. So home, and to supper with my father, and then to set my remainder of my books gilt in order with much pleasure, and so late to bed.

10th. (Fast-day for the fire.) With Sir Batten by water to White Hall, and anon had a meeting before the Duke of York, where pretty to see how Sir W. Batten, that carried the surveys of all the fleete with him, to show their ill condition to the Duke of York,

when he found the Prince there, did not speak one word, though the meeting was of his asking—for nothing else. And when I asked him, he told me he knew the Prince too well to anger him, so that he was afraid to do it. Thence with him to Westminster, to the parish church,¹ where the Parliament-men, and Stillingfleete in the pulpit. So full, no standing there; so he and I to eat herrings at the Dog Taverne. And then to church again, and there was Mr. Frampton² in the pulpit, whom they cry up so much, a young man, and of a mighty ready tongue. I heard a little of his sermon, and liked it; but the crowd so great, I could not stay. So to the Swan, and baisais la fille, and drank, and then home by coach, and took father, wife, brother, and W. Hewer to Islington, where I find mine host dead. Here eat and drank, and merry; and so home, and with Captain Cocke into the office to hear his newes, who is mighty conversant with Garraway and those people, who tells me what they object as to the mal-administration of things as to money. But that they mean well, and will do well; but their reckonings are very good, and show great faults, as I will insert here. They say the king hath had towards this war expressly thus much:—

¹ St. Margaret's. Dr. Sancroft, Dean of St. Paul's, preached before His Majesty at the Cathedral; Seth Ward, Bishop of Exeter, before the House of Lords, in Westminster Abbey; and Dr. Stillingfleet and Dr. Frampton before the House of Commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster.—*The London Gazette*, No. 94.

² Robert Frampton, a native of Pimperm, in Dorsetshire, educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and afterwards a student of Christ Church, and Chaplain to a man-of-war. In 1673 he became Dean of Gloucester, and in 1681 Bishop of that See; but refusing to take the oaths of allegiance to William and Mary, he was deprived, and retired into private life. Ob. 25th May, 1708.

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|--|------------|
| Royal Ayde | £2,450,000 |
| More | 1,250,000 |
| Three months tax given the King by a power of raising a month's tax of 70,000 <i>l.</i> every year for three years | 0,210,000 |
| Customes, out of which the King did promise to pay 240,000 <i>l.</i> which for two years come to . . . | 0,480,000 |
| Prizes, which they moderately reckon at . . . | 0,300,000 |
| A debt declared by the Navy, by us | 0,900,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| | 5,590,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| The whole charge of the Navy, as we state it for two years and a month, hath been but | 3,200,000 |
| | <hr/> |
| ¹ So what is become of all this sum? | £2,390,000 |

He and I did bemoan our public condition. He tells me the Duke of Albemarle is under a cloud, and they have a mind at Court to lay him aside. This I know not; but all things are not right with him, and I am glad of it, but sorry for the time. So home to supper, and to bed, it being my wedding night,² but how many years I cannot tell; but my wife says ten.³

11th. Up, and discoursed with my father of my sending some money for safety into the country, for I am in pain what to do with what I have. I did give him money, poor man, and he overjoyed. So left him, and to the office, where nothing but sad evidences of ruine coming on us for want of money.

Memorandum. I had taken my Journall during the fire and the disorders following in loose papers until this very day, and could not get time to enter them in my book till January 18, in the morning,

¹ The remainder of the receipts.

² According to the extract from the register of St. Margaret's Parish, Westminster, Pepys was married 1st December, 1655. (M. B.)

³ It was eleven years.

having made my eyes sore by frequent attempts this winter to do it. But now it is done, for which I thank God, and pray never the like occasion may happen.

12th. Up, and after taking leave of my poor father, who is setting out this day for Brampton by the Cambridge coach, he having taken a journey to see the city burned, and to bring my brother to town, I out by water; and so by coach to St. James's, the weather being foul; and there, from Sir W. Coventry, do hear how the House have cut us off 150,000*l.* of our wear and tear, for that which was saved by the King while the fleete lay in harbour in winter. However, he seems pleased, and so am I, that they have abated no more, and do intend to allow of 28,000 men for the next year; and this day have appointed to declare the sum they will give the King,¹ and to propose the way of raising it; so that this is likely to be the great day. This done in his chamber, I with him to Westminster Hall, and find that people have a mighty mind to have a fling at the Vice-Chamberlain, if they could lay hold of anything, his place being, indeed, too much for such, they think, or any single subject of no greater parts and quality than he, to enjoy. But I hope he may weather all, though it will not be by any dexterity of his, I dare say, if he do stand, but by his fate only, and people's being taken off by other things. So home, and find my wife come home, and hath brought her new girle I have helped her to, of Mr. Falconbridge's. She is wretched poor, and but ordinary favoured; and we fain to lay out seven or eight pounds worth of clothes upon her back, which, methinks, do go against my heart; and I do not think I can ever esteem her as I could have

¹ The Parliament voted this day a supply of 1,800,000*l.* sterling.

done another that had come fine and handsome ; and which is more, her voice, for want of use, is so furred, that it do not at present please me ; but her manner of singing is such, that I shall, I think, take great pleasure in it. Well, she is come, and I wish us good fortune in her. Here I met with notice of a meeting of the Commissioners for Tangier tomorrow, and so I must have my accounts ready for them.

13th. My accounts cost me till four o'clock in the morning, and, which was pretty to think, I was above an hour, after I had made all right, in casting up of about twenty sums, being dozed with much work, and had for forty times together forgot to carry the 60 which I had in my mind, in one denomination which exceeded 60 ; and this did confound me for above an hour together. At last all even and done, and so to bed. Up at seven, and so to the office. At noon to dinner at a cook's, and thence to my Lord Bellassis', whom I find kind ; but he had drawn some new proposal to deliver to the Lords Commissioners to-day, wherein one was, that the garrison would not be well paid without some goldsmith's undertaking the paying of the bills of exchange for Tallys. He professing so much kindness to me, and saying that he would not be concerned in the garrison without me ; and that if he continued in the employment, no man should have to do with the money but myself. I did ask his Lordship's meaning of the proposition in his paper. He told me he had not much considered it, but that he meant no harm to me. I told him I thought it would render me useless ; whereupon he did very frankly, after my seeming denials for a good while, cause it to be writ over again, and that clause left out, which did satisfy me abundantly. It being done, he and I together to White Hall, and there

the Duke of York (who is gone over to all his pleasures again, and leaves off care of business, what with his woman, my Lady Denham, and his hunting three times a week) was just come in from hunting. So I stood and saw him dress himself, and try on his vest, which is the King's new fashion, and he will be in it for good and all on Monday next, and the whole Court: it is a fashion, the King says, he will never change. He being ready, he and my Lord Chancellor, and Duke of Albemarle, and Prince Rupert, Lord Bellassis, Sir H. Cholmly, Povy, and myself, met at a Committee for Tangier. My Lord Bellassis's propositions were read and discoursed of, about reducing the garrison to less charge; and indeed I am mad in love with my Lord Chancellor, for he do comprehend and speak out well, and with the greatest easinesse and authority that ever I saw man in my life. I did never observe how much easier a man do speak when he knows all the company to be below him, than in him; for though he spoke, indeed, excellent well, yet his manner and freedom of doing it, as if he played with it, and was informing only all the rest of the company, was mighty pretty. He did call again and again upon Mr. Povy for his accounts. I did think fit to make the solemn tender of my accounts that I intended. I said something that was liked, touching the want of money, and the bad credit of our tallys. My Lord Chancellor moved, that without any trouble to any of the rest of the Lords, I might alone attend the King, when he was with his private Council, and open the state of the garrison's want of credit; and all that could be done, should. Most things moved were referred to Committees, and so we broke up. And at the end Sir W. Coventry came; so I away with him, and he discoursed with me something of the Parliament's business.

They have voted giving the King for next year 1,800,000*l.*; which, were it not for his debts, were a great sum. He says, he thinks the House may say no more to us for the present, but that we must mend our manners against the tryall, and mend them we will. But he thinks it not a fit time to be found making of trouble among ourselves, meaning about Sir J. Minnes, who most certainly must be removed, or made a Commissioner, and somebody else Comptroller. But he tells me that the House has a great envy at Sir G. Carteret, and that had he ever thought fit in all his discourse to have touched upon the point of our want of money and badness of payment, it would have been laid hold on to Sir G. Carteret's hurt; but he hath avoided it, though without much reason for it, most studiously, and in short did end thus, that he has never shown so much of the pigeon in all his life as in his innocence to Sir G. Carteret at this time; which I believe, and will desire Sir G. Carteret to thank him for it.

14th. (Lord's day.) Lay long in bed, among other things, talking of my wife's renewing her acquaintance with Mrs. Pierce, which, by my wife's ill using her when she was here last, has been interrupted. Herein we were a little angry together, but presently friendly again; and so up, and I to church, which was mighty full, and my beauties, Mrs. Lethalier¹ and fair Batelier, both there. A very foul morning, and rained; and sent for my cloake to go out of the church with. After dinner to Westminster Abbey. Here I met with Sir Stephen Fox, who told me how much right I had done myself, and how well it was represented by the Committee to the House, my readinesse to give them satisfaction in everything when they were at the office. I was

¹ See 13th December, 1665.

glad of this. He did further discourse of Sir W. Coventry's great abilities, and how necessary it were that I were of the House to assist him. I did not owne it, but do myself think it were not unnecessary if either he should die, or be removed to the Lords, or any thing happen to hinder his doing the like service the next trial, which makes me think that it were not a thing very unfit; but I will not move in it.

15th. Called up, though a very rainy morning, by Sir H. Cholmley, and he and I most of the morning together evening of accounts, which I was very glad of. Then he and I out to Sir Robt. Viner's, at the African house (where I have not been since he came thither); but he was not there; but I did some business with his people, and then to Covill's, who, I find, lives now in Lyme Streete, and with the same credit as ever, this fire having not done them any wrong that I hear of at all. Thence he and I together to Westminster Hall, in our way talking of matters and passages of state, the viciousness of the Court; the contempt the King brings himself into thereby; his minding nothing, but doing all things just as his people about him will have it; the Duke of York becoming a slave to this strumpet Denham, and wholly minds her; that there really were amours between the Duchesse and Sidney; that there is reason to fear that, as soon as the Parliament have raised this money, the King will see that he hath got all that he can get, and then make up a peace. He tells me, what I wonder at, but that I find it confirmed by Mr. Pierce, whom I met by-and-by in the Hall, that Sir W. Coventry is of the caball with the Duke of York, and Brouncker, with this Lady Denham; which is a shame, and I am sorry for it, and that Sir W. Coventry do make her visits; but yet I hope it is not so. Pierce tells me, that as little

agreement as there is between the Prince¹ and Duke of Albemarle, yet they are likely to go to sea again; for the first will not be trusted alone, and nobody will go with him but this Duke of Albemarle. He tells me much how all the commanders of the fleete and officers that are sober men do cry out upon their bad discipline, and the ruine that must follow it if it continue. But that which I wonder most at, it seems their secretaries have been the most exorbitant in their fees to all sorts of the people, that it is not to be believed that they durst do it, so as it is believed they have got 800*l.* apiece by the very vacancies in the fleete. He tells me that Lady Castlemaine is concluded to be with child again; and that all the people about the King do make no scruple of saying that the King do intrigue with Mrs. Stewart, who, he says, is a most excellent-natured lady. This day the King begins to put on his vest, and I did see several persons of the House of Lords and Commons too, great courtiers, who are in it; being a long cassocke close to the body, of black cloth, and pinked with white silke under it, and a coat over it, and the legs ruffled with black riband like a pigeon's leg; and, upon the whole, I wish the King may keep it, for it is a very fine and handsome garment.² Out comes Sir W.

¹ Prince Rupert.

² Rugge, in his "Diurnal," thus describes the new Court costume:—"1666, Oct. 11. In this month His Majestie and whole Court changed the fashion of their clothes—viz, a close coat of cloth pinkt, with a white taffety under the cutts. This in length reached the calf of the leg, and upon that a sercoat cutt at the breast, which hung loose and shorter than the vest six inches. The breeches the Spanish cut, and buskins some of cloth, some of leather, but of the same colour as the vest or garment; of never the like fashion since William the Conqueror." Evelyn says, "It was a comely and manly habit, too good to hold, it being impossible for us, in good earnest, to leave the *Monsieur's* vanities long." See also his "Diary," Oct. 18, 1666. Charles resolved never

Coventry, and he and I talked of business. Among others I proposed the making Sir J. Minnes a Commissioner, and make somebody else Comptroller. He tells me it is the thing he has been thinking of, and hath spoke to the Duke of York of it. He believes it will be done; but that which I fear is that Pen will be Comptroller, which I shall grudge a little. The Duke of Buckingham called him aside and spoke a good while with him. I did presently fear it might be to discourse something of his design to blemish my Lord of Sandwich, in pursuance of the wild motion he made the other day in the House. Sir W. Coventry, when he came to me again, told me that he had wrought a miracle, which was, the convincing the Duke of Buckingham that something—he did not name what—that he had intended to do was not fit to be done, and that the Duke is gone away of that opinion. This makes me verily believe it was something like what I feared. By and by the House rose, and then I with Sir G. Carteret, and walked in the Exchequer Court, discoursing of business. Among others, I observing to him how friendly Sir W. Coventry had carried himself to him in these late inquiries, when, if he had borne him any spleen, he could have had what occasion he pleased offered him, he did confess he found the same thing, and would thanke him for it. I did give him some other advices, and so away with him to his lodgings at White Hall to dinner, where my Lady Carteret is,

to alter it, and “to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained, to our great expence and reproach.” But his inconsistency was so well known that “divers gentlemen and courtiers gave him gold, by way of wagers, that he would not persist in his resolution.”—*Quarterly Review*, vol. xix. p. 41. It is represented in a portrait of Lord Arlington, by Sir P. Lely, formerly belonging to Lord de Clifford, and engraved in Lodge’s “*Illustrious Persons*.” Louis XIV. ordered his servants to wear the dress. See Nov. 22, 1666, *post*.

and mighty kind, both of them, to me. Their son and my Lady Jemimah will be here very speedily. She tells me the ladies are to go into a new fashion shortly, and that is, to wear short coats, above their ancles; which she and I do not like, but conclude this long trayne to be mighty graceful. But she cries out of the vices of the Court, and how they are going to set up plays already; and how, the next day after the late great fast, the Duchesse of York did give the King and Queene a play. Nay, she told me that they have heretofore had plays at Court the very nights before the fast for the death of the late King. She do much cry out upon these things, and that which she believes will undo the whole nation; and I fear so too. After dinner away home, Mr. Brisband along with me as far as the Temple, and there looked upon a new booke, set out by one Rycault,¹ secretary to my Lord Winchelsea, of the policy and customs of the Turks, which is, it seems, much cried up. But I could not stay, but home. I find Balty come back, and with him some muster-books, which I am glad of, and hope he will do me credit in his employment. At Sir W. Batten's I met Sir W. Pen, lately come from the fleete at the Nore; and here were many good fellows, among others Sir Ralph Holmes, who is exceeding kind to me, more than usual, which makes me afeard of him, though I do much wish his friendship. Thereupon, after a little stay, I withdrew, and to the office awhile, and then home to supper and to my chamber to settle a few papers, and then to bed. This day the great debate was in Parliament, the manner of raising the 1,800,000^l. they

¹ Sir Paul Ricaut or Rycault. In 1661 he accompanied Lord Winchelsea, the ambassador at the Ottoman Court, as secretary, and while there he wrote "The Present State of the Ottoman Porte," in three books. (M. B.)

voted the King on Friday ; and at last, after many proposals, one moved that the Chimney-money might be taken from the King, and an equal revenue of something else might be found for the King, and people be enjoined to buy off this tax of Chimney-money for ever at eight years' purchase, which will raise present money, as they think, 1,600,000*l.*, and the State be eased of an ill burthen and the King be supplied of something as good or better for his use. The House seems to like this, and put off the debate to to-morrow.

16th. Up, and to the office, where sat to do little business but hear clamours for money. To dinner, and to the office again, after hearing my brother play a little upon the Lyra viall, which he do so as to show that he hath a love to musique and a spirit for it, which I am well pleased with. All the afternoon at the office, and at night with Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and Sir J. Minnes, at Sir W. Pen's lodgings, advising about business and orders fit presently to make about discharging of ships come into the river, and which to pay first, and many things in order thereto. But it vexed me that, it being now past seven o'clock, and the business of great weight, and I had done them by eight o'clock, and sending them to be signed, they were all gone to bed, and Sir W. Pen, though awake, would not, being in bed, have them brought to him to sign ; this made me quite angry. Late at work at the office, and then home to supper and to bed. Not come to any resolution at the Parliament to-day about the manner of raising this 1,800,000*l.*

17th. To dinner, alone with my brother, with whom I had now the first private talke I have had, and find he hath preached but twice in his life. I did give him some advice to study pronounciation ; but I do fear he will never make a good speaker,

nor, I fear, any general good scholar, for I do not see that he minds optickes or mathematiques of any sort, nor anything else that I can find. I know not what he may be at divinity and ordinary school-learning. However, he seems sober, and that pleases me. After dinner I took him and my wife and Barker (for so is our new woman called, and is yet but a sorry girle), and set them down at Unthanke's, and so to White Hall, and there found some of my brethren with the Duke of York, but so few I put off the meeting. We staid and hear the Duke discourse, which he did mighty scurrilously, of the French, and with reason, that they should give Beaufort¹ orders when he was to bring, and did bring, his fleete hither, that his rendezvous for his fleete, and for all slugs to come to, should be between Calais and Dover; which did prove the taking of La Roche, who, among other slugs behind, did, by their instructions, make for that place, to rendezvous with the fleete; and Beaufort, seeing them as he was returning, took them for the English fleete, and wrote word to the King of France that he had passed by the English fleete, and the English fleete durst not meddle with him. The Court is all full of vests, only my Lord St. Albans not pinked but plain black; and they say the King says the pinking upon whites makes them look too much like mag-pyes, and therefore hath bespoke one of plain velvet. Thence to St. James's by coach, and spoke, at four o'clock or five, with Sir W. Coventry, newly come from the House, where they have sat all this day

¹ François de Vendôme, Duc de Beaufort, well known in the annals of France, was born in 1616, and in 1664 and 1665 commanded a naval expedition against the African corsairs. (See 11th October, 1664, *ante*.) The following year he had the charge of a fleet intended to act in concert with the Dutch against England, but which was merely sent out as a political demonstration. He was killed at the siege of Candia in 1669.

and not come to an end of the debate how the money shall be raised. He tells me that what I proposed to him the other day was what he had himself thought on and determined, and believes it will speedily be done—the making Sir J. Minnes a Commissioner, and bringing somebody else to be Comptroller, and that (which do not please me, I confess, for my own particular, so well as Sir J. Minnes) will, I fear, be Sir W. Pen, for he is the only fit man for it. Home, and late upon making up an account for the Board to pass to-morrow, if I can get there, for the clearing all my imprest¹ bills, which if I can do, will be to my very good satisfaction. Having done this, then to supper and to bed.

18th. To the office, where we sat all the morning. The waters so high in the roads, by the late rains, that our letters came not in till to-day. My Lord Brouncker proffered to carry me and my wife into a play at Court to-night, and to lend me his coach home, which tempted me much; but I shall not do it. Homewards, met my wife, and so away by coach towards Lovett's; in the way wondering at what a good pretty wench our Barker makes, being now put into good clothes, and fashionable, at my charge; but it becomes her, so that I do not now think much of it, and is an example of the power of good clothes and dress. To Lovett's house, where I stood godfather. But it was pretty, that, being a Protestant, a man stood by and was my Proxy to answer for me. A priest christened it, and the boy's name is Samuel. The ceremonies many, and some foolish. The priest in a gentleman's dress, more than my

¹ See note 28th November, 1660, and "Notes and Queries," 1st series, vol. ii. page 40: "When a person fulfilling any employment under any of the Government Boards has occasion to draw 'money on account,' an 'imprest' addressed to the paymaster under that Board is issued for the required sum." (M. B.)

owne; but is a Capuchin, one of the Queene-mother's priests. He did give my proxy and the woman proxy (my Lady Bills,¹ absent, had a proxy also,) good advice to bring up the child, and, at the end, that he ought never to marry the child nor the godmother, nor the godmother the child or the godfather: but, which is strange, they say the mother of the child and the godfather may marry. By and by the Lady Bills came in, a well-bred but crooked woman. The poor people of the house had good wine, and a good cake; and she a pretty woman in her lying-in dress. It cost me near 40s. the whole christening: to midwife 20s., nurse 10s., mayde 2s. 6d., and the coach 5s. The business of buying off the Chimney-money is passed in the House; and so the King to be satisfied some other way, and the King supplied with the money raised by this purchasing off of the chimnies. So home, mightily pleased in mind that I have got my bills of imprest cleared by bills signed this day, to my good satisfaction. To supper, and to bed.

19th. To Povy's, who continues as much confounded in all his business as ever he was; and would have had me paid money, as like a fool as himself, which I troubled him in refusing; but I did persist in it. After a little more discourse, I to White Hall, where I met with Sir Robert Viner, who told me a little of what, in going home, I had seen; also a little of the disorder and mutiny among the seamen at the Treasurer's office, which did trouble me then and all day, considering how many more seamen will come

¹ Lady Diana Fane, daughter of Mildmay Fane, second Earl of Westmoreland, widow of Edward Pelham, Esq., of Brocklesby, in Lincolnshire, remarried John Bills, Esq., of Caen Wood, Highgate. Her only child, Diana, by her second husband, died the widow of Captain Francis D'Arcy Savage, 23rd May, 1726, and is buried at Barnes. Lady Diana Bills was at this time in her 36th year.

to towne every day, and no money for them. A Parliament sitting, and the Exchange close by, and an enemy to hear of, and laugh at it.¹ Viner too, and Backewell, were sent for this afternoon; and was before the King and his Cabinet about money; they declaring they would advance no more, it being discoursed of in the House of Parliament for the King to issue out his privy-seals to them to command them to trust him, which gives them reason to decline trusting. But more money they are persuaded to lend, but so little that, (with horrore I speake it) coming after the Council was up, with Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Coventry, Lord Brouncker, and myself, I did lay the state of our condition before the Duke of York, that the fleete could not go out without several things it wanted, and we could not have without money, particularly rum and bread, which we had promised the man Sway to helpe him to 200*l.* of his debt, and a few other small sums of 200*l.* a piece to some others, and that I do forsee the Duke of Yorke would call us to an account why the fleete is not abroad, and we cannot answer otherwise than our want of money; and that indeed we do not do the King any service now, but do rather abuse and betray his service by being there, and seeming to do something, while we do not. Sir G. Carteret asked me (just in these words, for in this and all the rest I set down the very words for memory sake, if there should be occasion,) whether 50*l.* or 60*l.* would do us any good; and when I told him the very rum man² must have 200*l.*, he held up his eyes as if we had asked a million. Sir W. Coventry told the Duke of Yorke plainly he did rather desire to have his commission called in than serve in so ill a place, where he cannot do the King

¹ War was declared against Denmark this day.

² Mr. Sway. (M. B.)

service, and I did concur in saying the same. This was all very plain, and the Duke of York did confess that he did not see how we could do anything without a present supply of 20,000*l.*, and that he would speak to the King next Council day, and I promised to wait on him to put him in mind of it. This I set down for my future justification, if need be, and so we broke up, and all parted. So I home by coach, considering what the consequence of all this must be in a little time. Nothing but distraction and confusion ; which makes me wish with all my heart, that I were well and quietly settled with what little I have got at Brampton, where I might live peaceably, and study, and pray for the good of the King and my country. Home, and to Sir W. Batten's, who was at the pay to day, and tells me how rude the men were, but did go away quietly, being promised pay on Wednesday next. God send us money for it ! So to the office, and then to supper and to bed. Among other things proposed in the House to-day, to give the King in lieu of chimneys, there was the bringing up of sealed paper, such as Sir J. Minnes showed me to-night, at Sir W. Batten's, is used in Spayne, and brings the King a great revenue ; but it shows what shifts we are put to too much.

20th. I walked a good while with Mr. Gauden in the garden, who is lately come from the fleete at the buoy of the Nore, and he do tell me how all the sober commanders, and even Sir Thomas Allen himself, do complain of the ill government of the fleete. How Holmes and Jennings have commanded all the fleete this yeare, that nothing is done upon deliberation, but if a sober man gives his opinion otherwise than the Prince would have it the Prince would cry, "D——n him, do you follow your orders, and that is enough for you." He tells me he hears

of nothing but of swearing and drinking and debauchery, and all manner of profanenesses, quite through the whole fleete. He being gone, there comes to me Commissioner Middleton,¹ whom I took on purpose to walk in the garden, and to learn what he observed when the fleete was at Portsmouth. He says that the fleete was in such a condition, as to discipline as if the Devil had commanded it; so much wickedness of all sorts. Enquiring how it came to pass that so many ships had miscarried this year, he tells me that he enquired; and the pilots do say, that they dare not do nor go but as the Captains will have them; and if they offer to do otherwise, the Captains swear they will run them through. He says that he heard Captain Digby² (my Lord of Bristol's son, a young fellow that never was but one year, if that, in the fleete,) say that he did hope he should not see a tarpaulin³ have the command of a ship within this twelve months. He observed while he was on board the Admirall, when the fleete was at Portsmouth, that there was a faction there. Holmes commanded all on the Prince's side, and Sir Jeremy Smith on the Duke's, and every body that came did apply themselves to one side or other; and when the Duke of Albemarle was gone away to come hither, then Sir Jeremy Smith did hang his head, and walked in the Generall's ship but like a private commander. He says he was on board the Prince, when the newes come of the burning of London; and all the Prince said was, that now Shipton's prophecy was out;⁴ and he heard

¹ Thomas Middleton, made a Commissioner of the Navy, 1664.

² Francis Digby, afterwards Colonel. He was killed in the sea-fight at Solebay.

³ See Trench's Select Glossary, p. 207, "Tarpaulin. Not any longer used except in the shorter form of 'tar' for sailor." (M. B.)

⁴ Evidently the concluding passage of "Mother Shipton's Prophecies," viz., "A ship come sayling up the Thames to London,

a young commander presently swear, that now a citizen's wife that would not take under half a piece before, would be contented with half-a-crowne: and made mighty sport of it. He says he do wonder that there has not been more mischief this year than there has. He says the fleete came to anchor between the Horse and the Island, so that when they came to weigh many of the ships could not turn, but run foul of the Horse, and there stuck, but that the weather was good. He says that nothing can do the King more disservice, nor please the standing officers of the ship better than these silly commanders that now we have, for they sign to anything that their officers desire of them, nor have judgment to contradict them if they would. He told me many other good things, which made me bless God that we have received no greater disasters this year than we have, though they have been the greatest that ever was known in England before, put all their losses of the King's ships by want of skill and seamanship together from the beginning. He being gone, comes Sir G. Carteret, and he and I walked together awhile, discoursing upon the sad condition of the times, what needs we have, and how impossible it is to get money. He told me my Lord Chancellor the other day did ask him how it came to pass that his friend Pepys do so much magnify all things to worst, as I did on Sunday last, in the bad condition of the fleete; and he tells me that he answered him, that I was but the mouth of the rest, and spoke what they have dictated to me; which did, as he says, presently

and the master of the ship shall weepe, and the mariners shall aske him why he weepeth, being he hath made so good a voyage, and he shall say, 'Ah, what a goodlie citie this was! none in the world comparable to it; and now there is scarcely left any house that can let us have drinke for our money.'" Quoted from the edition of 1641, which Prince Rupert might have seen.

take off his displeasure. So that I am well at present with him, but I must have a care not to be over busy in the office again, and burn my fingers. He tells me he wishes he had sold his place at some good rate to somebody or other at the beginning of the warr, and that he would do it now, but nobody will deale with him for it. He tells me the Duke of Albemarle is very much discontented, and the Duke of York do not, it seems, please him. Thence, with Sir G. Carteret, home to dinner, with him, my Lady and Mr. Ashburnham, the Cofferer. Here they talk that the Queene hath a great mind to alter her fashion, and to have the feet seen, which she loves mightily; and they do believe that it will come into it in a little time. Here I met with the King's declaration about his proceedings with the King of Denmarke, and particularly the business of Bergen; but it is so well writ, that, if it be true, the King of Denmarke is one of the most absolute wickednesse in the world for a person of his quality. After dinner home, and there met Mr. Povy by appointment, and there he and I, till late at night, evening of all accounts between us, which we did to both our satisfaction; but that which troubles me most is, that I am to refund to the ignoble Lord Peterborough what he had given us six months ago, because we did not supply him with money; but it is no great matter. So home to supper and to bed.

21st. (Lord's day.) Up and with my wife to church, and her new woman Barker with her the first time. The girle will, I think, do very well. Here a lazy sermon, and so home to dinner, and took in my Lady Pen and Peg (Sir William being below with the fleete), and mighty merry we were, and after dinner presently I by coach to White Hall, and there attended the Cabinet, and was called in before the King and them to give an account of our want

of money for Tangier, which troubles me that it should be my place so often and so soon after one another to come to speak there of their wants—the thing of the world they love least to hear, and that which is no welcome thing to be the solicitor for—and to see how like an image the King sat and could not speak one word when I had delivered myself was very strange; only my Lord Chancellor did ask me, whether I thought it was in nature at this time to help us to anything. So I was referred to another meeting of the Lords Commissioners for Tangier and my Lord Treasurer, and so went away, and by coach home, where I spent the evening in reading Stillingfleet's defence of the Archbishopp, the part about Purgatory, a point I have never considered before, what was said for it or against it, and though I do believe we are in the right, yet I do not see any great matter in this book. So to supper; and my people being gone, most of them, to bed, my boy and Jane and I did get two of my iron chests out of the cellar into my closett, and the money to my great satisfaction to see it there again. This afternoon walking with Sir H. Cholmly long in the gallery, he told me, among many other things, how Harry Killigrew¹ is banished the Court lately, for saying that my Lady Castlemaine was a little lecherous girle when she was young. This she complained to the King of, and he sent to the Duke of York, whose servant he is, to turn him away. The Duke of York hath done it, but takes it ill of my Lady that he was not complained to first. She attended him to excuse it, but ill blood is made by it. He told me how Mr. Williamson stood in a

¹ Son of Tom Killigrew by his first wife, Mrs. Cecilia Crofts. He was baptized in St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, 16th April, 1637, and is called "young," to distinguish him from his uncle of the same name, who was Master of the Savoy.

little place to have come into the House of Commons, and they would not choose him; they said, "No courtier." And which is worse, Bab May went down in great state to Winchelsea with the Duke of York's letters, not doubting to be chosen; and there the people chose a private gentleman in spite of him, and cried out they would have no Court pimp to be their burgesse; which are things that bode very ill.

22nd. To Westminster Hall, and so home, where I found Mr. Cæsar playing the treble to my boy upon the Theorbo, the first time I heard him, which pleases me mightily. After dinner by coach, lighting at the Temple, and there, being a little too soon, walked in the Temple Church, looking with pleasure on the monuments and epitaphs, and then to my Lord Belassis, where Creed and Povy by appointment met to discourse of some of their Tangier accounts between my Lord and Vernatty, who will prove a very knave. That being done I away to Unthank's, and there take up my wife, and so home, it being very foule and darke. Being there come, I to the settling of my money matters in my chests, and evening some accounts to my extraordinary content, and especially to see all things hit so even and right and with an apparent profit and advantage since my last accounting, but how much I cannot particularly yet come to adjudge. Late to supper and to bed.

23rd. Sir W. Batten told me Sir R. Ford would accept of one-third of my profit of our private man-of-war, and bear one-third of the charge, and be bound in the Admiralty, so I shall be excused being bound, which I like mightily of, and did draw up a writing, as well as I could, to that purpose. After dinner, it being late, I down by water to Shadwell, to see Betty Michell, the first time I was ever in their new dwelling since the fire, and there found

her in the house all alone. I found her mighty modest, and indeed she is mighty pretty, that I love her exceedingly. I paid her 10*l.* 1*s.* that I received upon a ticket for her husband, which is a great kindness I have done them, and having kissed her as much as I would, I away, poor wretch, and down to Deptford to see Sir J. Minnes ordering of the pay of some ships there, which he do most miserably, and so home.

24th. Up, and down to the Old Swan, and there found little Michell come to his new shop. I hope he will do good here. I drank and bade him joy, for I love him and his wife well, him for his care, and her for her person, and so to White Hall, where we attended the Duke; and to all our complaints for want of money, which now we are tired out with making, the Duke only tells us that he is sorry for it, and hath spoke to the King of it, and money we shall have as soon as it can be found; and though all the issue of the war lies upon it, yet that is all the answer we can get, and that is as bad or worse than nothing. I to the Hall and there walked long, among others, talking with Mr. Hayes, Prince Rupert's Secretary, a very ingenious man, and one, I think, fit to contract some friendship with. Here I staid late, walking to and again, hearing how the Parliament proceeds, which is mighty slowly in the settling of the money business, and great factions growing every day among them. I am told also how Holmes did last Sunday deliver in his articles to the King and Cabinet against [Sir Jeremy] Smith, and that Smith hath given in his answer, and lays his not accompanying the fleete to his pilot, who would not undertake to carry the ship further; which the pilot acknowledges. The thing is not accommodated, but only taken up, and both sides commanded to be quiet; but no peace like to be. The

Duke of Albemarle is Smith's friend, and hath publicly swore that he would never go to sea again unless Holmes's commission were taken from him. I find by Hayes¹ that they did expect great glory in coming home in so good condition as they did with the fleete, and therefore I the less wonder that the Prince was distasted with my discourse the other day about the sad state of the fleete. But it pleases me to hear that he did expect great thanks, and lays the fault of the want of it upon the fire, which deadened everything, and the glory of his services. Home and called my wife, and, it being moonshine, took her into the garden, and there layed open our condition as to our estate, and the danger of having it [his money] all in the house at once, in case of any disorder or troubles in the State, and therefore resolved to remove part of it to Brampton, and part some whither else, and part in my owne house, which is very necessary, and will tend to our safety, though I shall not think it safe out of my owne sight.

25th. Up betimes and by water to White Hall, and there with Sir G. Carteret to Sir. W. Coventry, who is come to his winter lodgings at White Hall, and there agreed upon a method of paying of tickets; and so I back again home and to the office, where we sate all the morning, but to little purpose but to receive clamours for money. After dinner I out with my wife to Mrs. Pierce's, where she has not been a great while, from some little unkindness² of my wife's to her when she was last here, but she received us with mighty respect and discretion, and was making herself mighty fine to go to a great ball to-night at Court, being the Queene's birthday; so the ladies for this one day to wear laces, but are to put them off again to-morrow. Thence I to my

¹ Prince Rupert's secretary.

² See 6th August, 1666. (M. B.)

Lord Brouncker's, and with him to Mrs. Williams's, where we met Knipp. I was glad to see the jade. Made her sing; and she told us they begin at both houses to act on Monday next. But I fear after all this sorrow, their gains will be but little. Mrs. Williams says, the Duke's house will now be much the better of the two, because of their women; which I am glad to hear. Then I away to Mrs. Pierce's, and there saw her new closett, which is mighty rich and fine. Her daughter Betty grows mighty pretty. Thence with my wife home and to do business at the office. Then to Sir W. Batten's, who tells me that the House of Parliament makes mighty little haste in settling the money, and that he knows not when it will be done; but they fall into faction, and libells have been found in the House. Among others, one yesterday, wherein they reckon up divers great sums to be given away by the King, among others, 10,000*l.* to Sir W. Coventry, for weare and teare, the point he stood upon to advance that sum by, for them to give the King; Sir G. Carteret 50,000*l.* for something else, I think supernumerarys; and so to Matt. Wren 5,000*l.* for passing the Canary Company's patent; and so a great many other sums to other persons.

26th. Up, and all the morning and most of the afternoon within doors, beginning to set my accounts in order from before this fire, I being behindhand with them ever since; and this day I got most of my tradesmen to bring in their bills and paid them. Nothing done in the House yet as to the finishing of the bill for money, which is a mighty sad thing, all lying at stake for it.

27th. Up, and there comes to see me my Lord Belassis, which was a great honour. He tells me great newes, yet but what I suspected, that Vernatty is fled, and so hath cheated him and twenty more,

but most of all, I doubt, Povy. Thence to talk about publique business; he tells me how the two Houses begin to be troublesome; the Lords to have quarrels one with another. My Lord Duke of Buckingham having said to the Lord Chancellor (who is against the passing of the Bill for prohibiting the bringing over of Irish cattle), that whoever was against the Bill, was there led to it by an Irish interest, or an Irish understanding, which is as much as to say he is a foole, this bred heat from my Lord Chancellor, and something he [Buckingham] said did offend my Lord of Ossory¹ (my Lord Duke of Ormond's son), and they two had hard words, upon which the latter sends a challenge to the former; of which the former complains to the House, and so the business is to be heard on Monday next.² Then as to the Commons; some ugly knives, like poignards, to stab people with, about two or three hundred of them were brought in yesterday to the House, found in one of the house's rubbish that was burned, and said to be the house of a Catholique. This and several letters out of the country, saying how high the Catholiques are everywhere and bold in the owning their religion, have made the Commons mad, and they presently voted

¹ On the 14th September, 1665, the Earl of Ossory had been created an English Peer, as Lord Butler of Morepark.

² The proceedings on the 27th are not clearly stated. According to Clarendon, this Bill was urgently pressed forward in the House of Lords by the Duke of Buckingham. The debate became most disorderly, especially on the part of its promoters. On the Duke making the remark above quoted, Lord Ossory, not trusting himself with a reply in the House, challenged Buckingham privately. This the Duke endeavoured to avoid, and was found in a place not fixed for the meeting. On the following morning, he informed the House of the affair. Clarendon regards the whole as a "gross shift" on the part of the Duke. Both parties were sent to the Tower. The Bill was subsequently passed. See Lord Arlington's account of the quarrel in Brown's "*Miscellanea Aulica*," p. 423, &c.

that the King be desired to put all Catholiques out of employment, and other high things; while the business of money hangs in the hedge. So that upon the whole, God knows we are in a sad condition like to be, there being the very beginnings of the late troubles. He gone, I at the office all the morning. At noon home to dinner, where Mrs. Pierce and her boy and Knipp, who sings as well, and is the best company in the world, dined with us, and infinite merry. The playhouses begin to play next week. Towards evening I took them out to the New Exchange, and there my wife bought things, and I did give each of them a pair of Jesimy¹ plain gloves, and another of white. Here Knipp and I walked up and down to see handsome faces, and did see several. Then carried each of them home, and with great pleasure and content, home myself, and thereupon some serious discourse between my wife and I upon the business. I called to us my brother, and there broke to him our design to send him into the country with some part of our money. I pray God give a blessing to our resolution, for I do much fear we shall meet with speedy distractions for want of money.

28th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church with my wife. Captain Guy to dine with me, and he and I much talk together. He cries out of the discipline of the fleete, and confesses really that the true English valour we talk of is almost spent and worn out; few of the commanders doing what they should do, and

¹ Jessemin (Jasminum), the flowers of which are of a delicate sweet smell, and often used to perfume gloves. Edmund Howes, Stow's continuator, informs us that sweet or perfumed gloves were first brought into England by the Earl of Oxford on his return from Italy, in the 15th year of Queen Elizabeth, during whose reign, and long afterwards, they were very fashionable. They are frequently mentioned by Shakespeare. Autolycus, in the "Winter's Tale," has among his wares—"Gloves as sweet as damask roses."

he much fears we shall therefore be beaten the next year. He assures me we were beaten home the last June fight, and that the whole fleete was ashamed to hear of our bonfires. He commends Smith, and cries out of Holmes for an idle, proud, conceited, though stout fellow. He tells me we are to owe the losse of so many ships on the sands, not to any fault of the pilots, but to the weather; but in this I have good authority to fear there was something more. He says the Dutch do fight in very good order, and we in none at all. He says that in the July fight, both the Prince and Holmes had their belly-fulls, and were fain to go aside; though, if the wind had continued, we had utterly beaten them. He do confess the whole to be governed by a company of fools, and fears our ruine. The Revenge having her forecastle blown up with powder to the killing of some men in the River, and the Dyamond's being overset in the careening at Sheerness, are further marks of the method all the King's work is now done in. The Foresight also and another came to disasters in the same place this week in the cleaning; which is strange.

29th. Up, and to the office to do business, and thither comes to me Sir Thomas Teddiman, and he and I walked a good while in the garden together, discoursing of the disorder and discipline of the fleete, wherein he told me how bad every thing is; but was very wary in speaking any thing to the dishonour of the Prince or Duke of Albemarle, but do magnify my Lord Sandwich much before them both, from ability to serve the King, and do heartily wish for him here. For he fears that we shall be undone the next year, but that he will, however, see an end of it. To Westminster; and I find the new Lord Mayor Bolton¹ a-swearing at the Exchequer, with

¹ Sir William Bolton, Merchant Tailor.

some of the Aldermen and Livery; but Lord! to see how meanly they now look, who upon this day used to be all little lords, is a sad sight and worthy consideration. And every body did reflect with pity upon the poor City, to which they are now coming to choose and swear their Lord Mayor, compared with what it heretofore was. Thence by coach (having in the Hall bought me a velvet riding cap, cost me 20s.) to my tailor's, and there bespoke a plain vest, and so to my goldsmith to bid him look out for some gold for me; and he tells me that ginnys, which I bought 2,000 of not long ago, and cost me but 18½*d.* change, will now cost me 22*d.*; and but very few to be had at any price. However, some more I will have, for they are very convenient, and of easy disposal. So home to dinner and to discourse with my brother upon his translation of my Lord Bacon's *Faber Fortunæ*, which I gave him to do and he has done it, but meanly; I am not pleased with it at all, having done it only literally, but without any life at all. About five o'clock I took my wife (who is mighty fine, and with a new fair pair of locks, which vex me, though like a foole I helped her the other night to buy them), and to Mrs. Pierce's, and there staying a little I away before to White Hall, and into the new playhouse there, the first time I ever was there, and the first play I have seen since before the great plague. By and by Mr. Pierce comes, bringing my wife and his, and Knipp. By and by the King and Queene, Duke and Duchesse, and all the great ladies of the Court; which, indeed, was a fine sight. But the play being "Love in a Tub,"¹ a silly play, and though done by the Duke's people, yet having neither Betterton nor his wife,² and the whole thing done ill, and being ill

¹ A comedy, by Sir George Ethridge.

² See note, February 1st, 1663-4.

also, I had no manner of pleasure in the play. Besides, the House, though very fine, yet bad for the voice, for hearing. The sight of the ladies, indeed, was exceeding noble; and above all, my Lady Castlemaine. The play done by ten o'clock. I carried them all home, and then home myself, and well satisfied with the sight, but not the play, we with great content to bed.

30th. To the office, where late, very busy, and dispatching much business. Mr. Hater staying most of the afternoon abroad, he came to me, poor man, to make excuse, and it was that he had been looking out for a little house for his family. His wife being much frightened in the country with the discourses of troubles and disorders like to be, and therefore durst not be from him, and therefore he is forced to bring her to towne. This is now the general apprehension of all people; particulars I do not know, but my owne fears are also great, and I do think it time to look out to save something, if a storm should come. At night home to supper, and singing with my wife, who has lately begun to learn, and I think will come to do something, though her eare is not good nor I, I confess, have patience enough to teach her, or hear her sing now and then a false note out of tune, and am to blame that I cannot bear with that in her which is fit I should do with her as a learner, and one that I desire much could sing, and so should encourage her. This I was troubled at, for I find that I do put her out of heart, and make her fearfull to sing before me. So after supper to bed.

31st. Out with Sir W. Batten toward White Hall. This day is a great day at the House, so little to do with the Duke of York, but soon parted. Coming out of the Court I met Coll. Atkins, who tells me the whole city rings to-day of Sir Jeremy Smith's

killing of Holmes in a duell, at which I was not much displeased, for I fear every day more and more mischief from that man, if he lives ; but the thing is not true, for in my coach I did by and by meet Sir Jer. Smith going to Court. So I by coach to my goldsmith there to see what gold I can get, which is but little, and not under 22*l*. So away home to dinner, and after dinner to my closett, where I spent the whole afternoon till late at evening of all my accounts publique and private, and to my great satisfaction I do find that I do bring my accounts to a very near balance, notwithstanding all the hurries and troubles I have been to by the late fire, that I have not been able to even my accounts since July last ; and I bless God I do find that I am worth more than ever I yet was, which is 6,200*l*., for which the Holy Name of God be praised ! and my other accounts of Tangier in a very plain and clear condition, that I am not liable to any trouble from them ; but in fear great I am, and I perceive the whole city is of some distractions and disorders among us, which God of his goodness prevent ! Late to supper with my wife and brother, and then to bed. And thus ends the month with an ill aspect, the business of the Navy standing wholly still. No credit, no goods sold us, nobody will trust. All we have to do at the office is to hear complaints for want of money. The Duke of York himself for now three weeks seems to rest satisfied that we can do nothing without money, and that all must stand still till the King gets money, which the Parliament has been a great while about ; but are so dissatisfied with the King's management, and his giving himself up to pleasures, and not minding the calling to account any of his officers, and they observe so much the expense of the war, and yet that after we have made it the most we can, it do not amount to what they have given the King

for the war, that they are backward of giving any more. However 1,800,000*l.* they have voted, but the way of gathering it has taken up more time than is fit to be now lost. The seamen grow very rude, and every thing out of order; commanders having no power over their seamen, but the seamen do what they please. Few stay on board, but all coming running up hither to towne, and nobody can with justice blame them, we owing them so much money; and their familys must starve if we do not give them money, or they procure it upon their tickets from some people that will trust them. A great folly is observed by all people in the King's giving leave to so many merchantmen to go abroad this winter, and some upon voyages where it is impossible they should be back again by the spring, and the rest will be doubtfull, but yet we let them go; what the reason of State is nobody can tell, but all condemn it. The Prince and Duke of Albemarle have got no great credit by this year's service. Our losse both of reputation and ships having been greater than is thought hath ever been suffered in all ages put together before; being beat home, and flying home the first fight, and then losing so many ships then and since upon the sands, and some falling into the enemy's hands, and not one taken this yeare, but the Ruby, French prize, now at the end of the yeare, by the Frenchmen's mistake in running upon us. Great folly in both Houses of Parliament, several persons falling together by the eares, among others in the House of Lords, the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord Ossory. Such is our case that every body fears an invasion the next yeare; and for my part, I do methinks foresee great unhappiness coming upon us, and do provide for it by laying by something against a rainy day, dividing what I have, and laying it in several

places, but with all faithfulness to the King in all respects; my grief only being that the King do not look after his business himself, and thereby will be undone both himself and his nation, it being not yet, I believe, too late if he would apply himself to it, to save all, and conquer the Dutch; but while he and the Duke of York mind their pleasure, as they do and nothing else, we must be beaten. So late with my mind in good condition of quiet after the settling all my accounts, and to bed.

November 1st. Up, and was presented by Burton, one of our smith's wives, with a very noble cake, which I presently resolved to have my wife go with to-day, and some wine, and house-warm my Betty Michell, which she readily resolved to do. So I to the office and sat all the morning, where little to do but answer people about want of money; so that there is little service done the King by us, and great disquiet to ourselves; I am sure there is to me very much, for I do not enjoy myself as I would and should do in my employment if my pains could do the King better service, and with the peace we used to do it. From dinner my wife and my brother, and W. Hewer and Barker away to Betty Michell's, to Shadwell, and I to my office till almost night and then, my wife being come back, I took her and set her at her brothers, who is very sicke, and I to White Hall, and there all alone a pretty while with Sir W. Coventry at his chamber. I find him very melancholy under the same considerations of the King's service that I am. He confesses with me he expects all will be undone, and all ruined; he complains and sees perfectly what I with grief do, and said it first himself to me that all discipline is lost in the fleete, no order nor no command, and concurs with me that it is necessary we do again and again

represent all things more and more plainly to the Duke of York, as a guard to ourselves hereafter when things shall come to be worse. He says the House goes on slowly in finding of money, and that the discontented party do say they have not done with us, for they will have a further bout with us as to our accounts, and they are exceedingly well instructed where to hit us. I left him with a thousand sad reflections upon the times, and the state of the King's matters, and so away, and took up my wife and home, where a little at the office, and then to supper, and talk with my wife (with whom I have much comfort) and my brother, and so to bed.

November 2nd. With Sir W. Batten to Woolwich, where first we went on board the *Ruby*, French prize, the only ship of war we have taken from any of our enemies this year. It seems a very good ship, but with galleries quite round the sterne to walk in as a balcone, which will be taken down. She had also about forty good brass guns, but will make little amends to our loss in the *Prince*. Thence to the Ropeyarde and the other yards to do several businesses. I did also buy some apples and pork; by the same token the butcher commended it for cloath and colour. And for his beef, says he, "Look how fat it is; the lean appears only here and there a speck, like beauty-spots." Having done at Woolwich, we to Deptford, and there did also a little more business, and so home, I reading all the way to make an end of the *Bondman* (which the oftener I read the more I like), and begun "*The Duchesse of Malfi*,"¹ which seems a good play. After dinner to Westminster. I up into the House, and among other things walked a good while

¹ A tragedy, by John Webster.

with the Serjeant Trumpet, who tells me, as I wished, that the King's Italian here is about setting three parts for trumpets, and shall teach some to sound them, and believes they will be admirable musique. I also walked with Sir Stephen Fox an houre, and good discourse of publique business with him, who seems very much satisfied with my discourse, and desired more of my acquaintance. Then comes out the King and Duke of York from the Council, and so I spoke awhile to Sir W. Coventry about some office business, and so called my wife, and so home.

3rd. This morning comes Mr. Lovett, and brings me my print of the Passion, varnished by him, and the frame black, which indeed is very fine, though not so fine as I expected; however, pleases me exceedingly. This, and the sheets of paper he prepared for me, come to 3^l., which I did give him, and though it be more than is fit to lay out on pleasure, yet, it being ingenious, I did not think much of it. He gone, I to the office, and there again all the afternoon till late at night.

4th. (Lord's day.) Comes my taylor's man in the morning, and brings my vest home, and coate to wear with it, and belt, and silver-hilted sword. So I rose and dressed myself, and I like myself mightily in it, and so do my wife. Then, being dressed, to church; and after church pulled my Lady Pen and Mrs. Markham into my house to dinner, and Sir J. Minnes he got Mrs. Pegg along with him. I had a good dinner for them, and very merry; and after dinner to the waterside, and so, it being very cold, to White Hall, and was mighty fearfull of an ague, my vest being new and thin, and the coat cut not to meet before upon my breast. Here I waited in the gallery till the Council was up, and among others did speak with Mr. Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's

secretary, who tells me my Lord Generall is become mighty low in all people's opinion, and that he hath received several slurs from the King and Duke of York. The people at Court do see the difference between his and the Prince's management, and my Lord Sandwich's. That this business which he is put upon of crying out against the Catholiques and turning them out of all employment, will undo him, when he comes to turn the officers out of the Army, and this is a thing of his own seeking. That he is grown a drunken sot, and drinks with nobody but Troutbecke, whom nobody else will keep company with. Of whom he told me this story: That once the Duke of Albemarle in his drink taking notice as of a wonder that Nan Hide should ever come to be Duchesse of York, "Nay," says Troutbecke, "ne'er wonder at that; for if you will give me another bottle of wine, I will tell you as great, if not greater, a miracle." And what was that, but that our dirty Besse (meaning his Duchesse) should come to be Duchesse of Albemarle? To Sir G. Carteret's lodgings, where he shows me a long letter, all in cipher, from my Lord Sandwich to him. The contents he hath not yet found out, but he tells me that my Lord is not sent for home, as several people have enquired after of me. So home, and there began to read "Potter's Discourse upon 666,"¹ which pleases me mightily.

5th. (A holiday.) Lay long, and then up, and to the office, where vexed to meet with people come

¹ "An Interpretation of the Number 666." Oxford, 1642, 4to. The work was afterwards translated into French, Dutch, and Latin. It was written by Francis Potter, an English divine, born in Wiltshire, 1594, who died about 1678, at Kilmington, in Somersetshire, of which he was rector.—Wood's *Athenæ*. See 18th February, 1665-6, *ante*.

from the fleete at the Nore, where so many ships are laid up and few going abroad, and yet Sir Thos. Allen has sent up some Lieutenants with warrants to presse men for a few ships to go out this winter, while every day thousands appear here, to our great trouble and affright, before our office and the ticket office, and no Captain able to command one man abroad. Thence by coach to my Lady Peterborough,¹ who had sent to speak with me. She makes mighty moan of the badness of the times, and her family as to money. My Lord's passionateness for want thereof, and his want of coming in of rents, and no wages from the Duke of York. No money to be had there for wages nor disbursements, and therefore prays my assistance about his pension. I was moved with her story, which she largely and handsomely told me, and promised I would try what I could in a few days, and so took leave, being willing to keep her Lord fair with me, both for his respect to my Lord Sandwich and for my owne sake hereafter, when I come to pass my accounts. Thence to my Lord Crew's, and there dined, and mightily made of. Here my Lord and Sir Thomas Crew, Mr. John, and Dr. Crew,² and two strangers. The best family in the world for goodness and sobriety. Here beyond my expectation I met my Lord Hinchingbroke, who is come to towne two days since from Hinchingbroke, and brought his sister and brother Carteret with him, who are at Sir G. Carteret's. After dinner I and Sir Thomas Crew went aside to discourse of public matters, and do find by him that all the country gentlemen are publickly jealous of the courtiers in the Parliament, and that they do doubt every thing that they propose; and that the true reason why the

¹ See August 10th, 1663.

² Nathaniel, afterwards Bishop of Durham and Baron Crewe.

country gentlemen are for a land-tax and against a general excise, is, because they are fearful that if the latter be granted they shall never get it down again ; whereas the land-tax will be but for so much, and when the war ceases, there will be no ground got by the Court to keep it up. He says the House would be very glad to get something against Sir G. Carteret, and will not let their inquiries die till they have got something. He do, from what he hath heard at the Committee for examining the burning of the City, conclude it as a thing certain that it was done by plot ; it being proved by many witnesses that endeavours were made in several places to encrease the fire, and that both in City and country it was bragged by several Papists that upon such a day or in such a time we should find the hottest weather that ever was in England, and words of plainer sense. But my Lord Crew was discoursing at table how the Judges have determined in the case whether the landlords or the tenants (who are, in their leases, all of them generally tied to maintain and uphold their houses) shall bear the losse of the fire ; and they say that tenants should against all casualties of fire beginning either in their owne or in their neighbour's ; but, where it is done by an enemy, they are not to do it. And this was by an enemy, there having been one convicted and hanged upon this very score. This is an excellent salvo for the tenants, and for which I am glad, because of my father's house. After dinner and this discourse I took coach, and at the same time find my Lord Hinchingbroke and Mr. John Crew and the Doctor going out to see the ruins of the City ; so I took the Doctor into my hackney coach (and he is a very fine sober gentleman), and so through the City. But, Lord ! what pretty and sober observations he made of the City and its desolation ; till anon we came to

my house, and there I took them upon Tower Hill to show them what houses were pulled down there since the fire; and then to my house, where I treated them with good wine of several sorts, and they took it mighty respectfully, and a fine company of gentlemen they are; but above all I was glad to see my Lord Hinchinbroke drink no wine at all. Here I got them to appoint Wednesday come se'nnight to dine here at my house, and so we broke up and all took coach again, and I carried the Doctor to Chancery Lane, and thence I to White Hall, where I staid walking up and down till night, and then got almost into the play-house, having much mind to go and see the play at Court this night; but fearing how I should get home, because of the bonfires and the lateness of the night to get a coach, I did not stay; but having this evening seen my Lady Jemimah, who is come to towne, and looks very well and fat, and heard how Mr. John Pickering is to be married this week, and to a fortune with 5,000*l.*, and seen a rich necklace of pearle and two pendants of dyamonds, which Sir G. Carteret hath presented her with since her coming to towne, I home by coach, but met not one bonfire through the whole town in going round by the wall, which is strange, and speaks the melancholy disposition of the City at present, while never more was said of, and feared of, and done against the Papists than just at this time. Home, and there find my wife and her people at cards, and I to my chamber, and there late, and so to supper and to bed.

6th. After dinner, down alone by water to Deptford, reading "*Duchesse of Malfy*," the play, which is pretty good, and there did some business, and so up again, and all the evening at the office. At night home, and there find Mr. Batelier, who supped with us, and good company he is.

7th. Up and with Sir W. Batten to White Hall, where we attended as usual the Duke of York, and there was by the folly of Sir W. Batten prevented in obtaining a bargain for Captain Cocke, which would, I think; at this time, during our great want of hempe, have been both profitable to the King and of good convenience to me; but I matter it not, it being done only by the folly, not any design, of Sir W. Batten's. Thence to Westminster Hall, and, it being fast day, there was no shops open. Took coach and called at Faythorne's, to buy some prints for my wife to draw by this winter, and here did see my Lady Castlemaine's picture, done by him from Lilly's, in red chalke and other colours, by which he hath cut it in copper to be printed. The picture in chalke is the finest thing I ever saw in my life, I think; and I did desire to buy it; but he says he must keep it awhile to correct his copper-plate¹ by, and when that is done he will sell it me. Thence home to dinner, and then to Mrs. Turner's, at her request to speake and advise about Sir Thomas Harvey's coming to lodge there, which I think must be submitted to, and better now than hereafter, when he gets more ground, for I perceive he intends to stay by it, and begins to crow mightily upon his late being at the payment of tickets; but a coxcombe he is and will never be better in the business of the Navy. By the Duke of York his discourse to-day in his chamber, they have it at Court, as well as we here, that a fatal day is to be expected shortly, of some great mischief; whether by the Papists, or what, they are not certain. But the day is disputed; some say next Friday, others a day sooner, others later, and I hope all will prove a foolery. But it is observable how every body's fears are busy at this time.

¹ See 1st December, 1666.

8th. Up, and before I went to the office I spoke with Mr. Martin for his advice about my proceeding in the business of the private man-of-war, he having heretofore served in one of them, and now I have it in my thoughts to send him purser in ours. At noon home to dinner and then to the office awhile, and so home for my sword, and there find Mercer come to see her mistresse. I was glad to see her there, and my wife mighty kind also, and for my part, much vexed that the jade is not with us still. I to Westminster Hall, and there met Mr. Grey, who tells me the House is sitting still (and now it was six o'clock), and likely to sit till midnight; and have proceeded fair to give the King his supply presently; and herein have done more to-day than was hoped for. Sir W. Coventry did this night tell me how the business is done about Sir J. Minnes; that he is to be a Commissioner, and my Lord Brouncker and Sir W. Pen are to be Controller jointly, which I am very glad of, and better than if they were either of them alone; and do hope truly that the King's business will be better done thereby, and infinitely better than now it is. Mr. Grey did assure me this night, that he was told this day, by one of the greater Ministers of State in England, and one of the King's Cabinet, that we had little left to agree on between the Dutch and us towards a peace, but only the place of treaty; which do astonish me to hear, but I am glad of it, for I fear the consequence of the war. But he says that the King, having all the money he is like to have, we shall be sure of a peace in a little time.

9th. Up and to the office, where did a good deale of business, and then at noon to the Exchange and to my little goldsmith's, whose wife¹ is very pretty and

¹ Mrs. Stokes.

modest, that ever I saw any. Upon the Change, where I seldom have of late been, I found all people mightily at a losse what to expect, but confusion and fears in every man's head and heart. Whether war or peace, all fear the event will be bad. Home, and after dinner I to my closett all the afternoon, till the porter brought my vest back from the tailor's, and then to dress myself very fine and away by coach to Mrs. Pierce's, by appointment, where we find good company: a fair lady, my Lady Prettyman,¹ Mrs. Corbet,² Knipp; and for men, Captain Downing, Mr. Lloyd, Sir W. Coventry's clerk, and one Mr. Tripp, who dances well. After our first bout of dancing, Knipp and I to sing, and Mercer and Captain Downing (who loves and understands musique) would by all means have my song of "Beauty, retire:" which Knipp had spread abroad, and he extols it above any thing he ever heard, and, without flattery, I know it is good in its kind. This being done and going to dance again, and then comes news that White Hall was on fire; and presently more particulars, that the Horse-guard was on fire;³ and so we run up to the garret, and find it so; a horrid great fire; and by and by we saw and heard part of

¹ Margaret, daughter and heir of Sir Matthew Mennes, K.B., and wife of Sir John Prettyman, Bart., M.P. for Leicester.

² There was an actress of this name. She played Cleoly, at the King's House, in Edward Howard's "Man of Newmarket," 1678.

³ "Nov. 9th. Between seven and eight at night, there happened a fire in the Horse Guard House, in the Tilt Yard, over against Whitehall, which at first arising, it is supposed, from some snuff of a candle falling amongst the straw, broke out with so sudden a flame, that at once it seized the north-west part of that building; but being so close under His Majesty's own eye, it was, by the timely help His Majesty and His Royal Highness caused to be applied, immediately stopped, and by ten o'clock wholly mastered, with the loss only of that part of the building it had at first seized."—*The London Gazette*, No. 103.

it blown up with powder. The ladies begun presently to be afeard: one fell into fits. The whole town in an alarm. Drums beat and trumpets, and the Horse-guards every where spread, running up and down in the street. And I begun to have mighty apprehensions how things might be, for we are in expectation, from common fame, this night, or to-morrow, to have a massacre, by the having so many fires one after another, as that in the City, and at same time begun in Westminster, by the Palace, but put out; and since in Southwarke, to the burning down some houses; and now this do make all people conclude there is something extraordinary in it; but nobody knows what. By and by comes news that the fire has slackened; so then we were a little cheered up again, and to supper, and pretty merry. But, above all, there comes in the dumb boy that I knew in Oliver's time, who is mightily acquainted here, and with Downing; and he made strange signs of the fire, and how the King was abroad, and many things they understood, but I could not, which I wondered at, and discoursing with Downing about it, "Why," says he, "it is only a little use, and you will understand him, and make him understand you with as much ease as may be." So I prayed him to tell him that I was afeard that my coach would be gone, and that he should go down and steal one of the seats out of the coach and keep it, and that would make the coachman to stay. He did this, so that the dumb boy did go down, and, like a cunning rogue, went into the coach, pretending to sleep; and, by and by, fell to his work, but finds the seats nailed to the coach. So he could not do it; however, stayed there, and stayed the coach till the coachman's patience was quite spent, and beat the dumb boy by force, and so went away. So the dumb boy came up and told him all the story,

which they below did see all that passed, and knew it to be true. After supper, another dance or two, and then newes that the fire is as great as ever, which puts us all to our wit's-end; and I mightily anxious to go home, but the coach being gone, and it being about ten at night, and rainy dirty weather, I knew not what to do; but to walk out with Mr. Batelier, myself resolving to go home on foot, and leave the women there. And so did; but at the Savoy got a coach, and came back and took up the women; and so, having, by people come from the fire, understood that the fire was overcome, and all well, we merrily parted, and home. Stopped by several guards and constables quite through the town, round the wall, as we went, all being in arms. Being come home, we to cards, till two in the morning, and drinking lamb's-wool.¹ So to bed.

10th. The Parliament did fall foul of our accounts again yesterday; and we must arme to have them examined, which I am sorry for: it will bring great trouble to me, and shame upon the office. With my Lord Brouncker and Sir Thomas Harvy, to Cocke's house, and there Mrs. Williams and other company, and an excellent dinner. Mr. Temple's wife, after dinner, fell to play on the harpsichon, till she so tired everybody, that I left the house without taking leave, and no creature left standing by her to hear her. Read an hour, to make an end of "Potter's Discourse of 666," which I like all along, but his close is most excellent; and, whether it be right or wrong, is mighty ingenious. This is the fatal day that every body hath discoursed for a long time to be the day that the Papists, or I know not who, have designed to commit a massacre upon;² but, however,

¹ Lamb's-wool is a vulgar beverage made of ale, mixed with sugar, nutmeg, and the pulp of roasted apples.

² See 13th December, 1666, *post*.

I trust in God we shall rise to-morrow morning as well as ever. I hear that my Lady Denham is exceeding sick, even to death, and that she says, and every body else discourses, that she is poisoned; and Creed tells me, that it is said that there hath been a design to poison the King. What the meaning of all these sad signs is, the Lord only knows; but every day things look worse and worse. God fit us for the worst!

11th. (Lord's day.) To church, myself and wife, where the old dunce Meriton, brother to the known Meriton, of St. Martin's, Westminster, did make a very good sermon, beyond my expectation. Home to dinner, and we carried in Pegg Pen, and there also came to us little Michell and his wife, and dined very pleasantly. Anon to church, and after church I to my chamber, and there did finish the putting time to my song of "It is decreed," and do please myself at last and think it will be thought a good song. To my uncle Wight's, where my aunt is grown so ugly and their entertainment so bad that I am in pain to be there. Wooly's wife, a silly woman, and not very handsome, but no spirit in her at all; and their discourse mean, and the fear of the troubles of the times hath made them not to bring their plate to town, since it was carried out upon the business of the fire, so that they drink in earth and a wooden can, which I do not like.

12th. Mr. Carcasse brought me near 500 tickets to sign, which I did, and by discourse find him a cunning, confident, shrewd man, but one that I do doubt by his discourse of the ill life he has got with my Lord Marquess of Dorchester (with whom he lived), hath had cunning practices in his time, and would not now spare to use the same to his profit. By and by comes Creed to me, and he and I walked in the garden a little, talking of the present ill con-

dition of things, which is the common subject of all men's discourse and fears now-a-days, and particularly of my Lady Denham, whom everybody says is poisoned, and she hath said it to the Duke of York ; but is upon the mending hand, though the town says she is dead this morning. Going to Sir R. Viner's, I did get such a splash and spots of dirt upon my new vest, that I was out of countenance to be seen in the street. This day I received 450 pieces of gold more of Mr. Stokes, but cost me 22½*d.* change ; but I am well contented with it, I having now nearly 2800*l.* in gold, and will not rest till I get full 3000*l.* Home to dinner, though Sir R. Viner would have staid us to dine with him, he being sheriffe ; but, poor man, was so out of countenance that he had no wine ready to drink to us, his butler being out of the way, though we know him to be a very liberal man. After dinner I took my wife out, intending to have gone and have seen my Lady Jemimah, at White Hall, but so great a stop there was at the New Exchange, that we could not pass in half an houre, and therefore 'light and then home. My wife and all the mayds [being] abed but Jane, whom I put confidence in—she and I, and my brother, and Tom, and W. Hewer, did bring all the remainder of my money, and my plate-chest, out of the cellar, and placed the money in my study, with the rest, and the plate in my dressing-room ; but indeed I am in great pain to think how to dispose of my money, it being wholly unsafe to keep it all in coin in one place. Creed and I did stop, the Duke of York being just going away from seeing of it, at Paul's, and in the Convocation House Yard did there see the body of Robert Braybrooke, Bishop of London, that died 1404. He fell down in his tomb out of the great church into St. Fayth's this late fire, and is here seen his skeleton with the flesh on ; but all tough

and dry like a spongy dry leather, or touchwood all upon his bones. His head turned aside. A great man in his time, and Lord Chancellor; and [his skeleton] now exposed to be handled and derided by some, though admired for its duration by others. Many flocking to see it.

13th. To Bishopsgate Street, and there bought some drinking-glasses, a case of knives, and other things, in expectation of my Lord Hinchinbroke's coming to dine with me. So home, and do here receive notice from my Lord Hinchinbroke that he is not well, and so not in condition to come, which I am not in much trouble for, because of the disorder my house is in, by the bricklayers coming to mend the chimney in my dining-room for smoking, which they were upon almost till midnight, and have now made it very pretty, and do carry smoke exceeding well. This evening came all the Houblons to me, to invite me to sup with them to-morrow night. I did take them home, and there we sat and talked a good while, and a glass of wine, and then parted till to-morrow night. So at night, well satisfied in the alteration of my chimney, I to bed.

14th. To Westminster, where I bought several things, as a hone, ribbon, gloves, books, and then took coach and to Knipp's lodging, whom I find not ready to go home with me; and there staid reading of Waller's verses, while she finished dressing, her husband being by. Her lodging very mean, and the condition she lives in; yet makes a show without doors, God bless us! I carried him along with us into the City, and set him down in Bishopsgate Street, and then home with her. She tells me how Smith,¹ of the Duke's house, hath killed a man upon a quarrel in play; which makes every body sorry, he being a

¹ William Smith, originally a Barrister-at-law of the Society of Gray's Inn, Ob. 1696.

good actor, and, they say, a good man, however this happens. The ladies of the Court do much bemoan him, she says. Here she and we alone at dinner to some good victuals, that we could not put off, that was intended for the great dinner of my Lord Hinchbroke's, if he had come. After dinner I to teach her my new recitative of "It is decreed," of which she learnt a good part, and I do well like it and believe shall be well pleased when she has it all, and that it will be found an agreeable thing. Then carried her home, and my wife and I intended to have seen my Lady Jemimah at White Hall, but the Exchange Streete was so full of coaches, every body, as they say, going thither to make themselves fine against to-morrow night, we could not do any thing, only my wife to see her brother, and I to speak one word with Sir G. Carteret about office business, and talk of the general complexion of matters, which he looks upon, as I do, with horreur, and gives us all as an undone people. That there is no such thing as a peace in hand, nor possibility of any without our begging it, they being as high, or higher, in their terms than ever, and tells me that, just now, my Lord Hollis had been with him, and wept to think in what a condition we are fallen. He shewed me my Lord Sandwich's letter to him, complaining of the lack of money, which Sir G. Carteret is at a loss how in the world to get the King to supply him with, and wishes him, for that reason, here ; for that he fears he will be brought to disgrace there, for want of supplies. He says the House is yet in a bad humour ; and desiring to know whence it is that the King stirs not, he says he minds it not, nor will be brought to it, and that his servants of the House do, instead of making the Parliament better, rather play the rogue one with another, and will put all in fire. So that, upon the whole, we are in a wretched condition, and

I went from him in full apprehensions of it. So to the Pope's Head, where all the Houblons were, and Dr. Croone,¹ and by and by to an exceeding pretty supper, excellent discourse of all sorts, and indeed they are a set of the finest gentlemen that ever I met withal in my life. Here Dr. Croone told me, that, at the meeting at Gresham College to-night, which, it seems, they now have every Wednesday again, there was a pretty experiment of the blood of one dog let out, till he died, into the body of another on one side, while all his own run out on the other side.² The first died upon the place, and the other very well, and likely to do well. This did give occasion to many pretty wishes, as of the blood of a Quaker to be let into an Archbishop, and such like; but, as Dr. Croone says, may, if it takes, be of mighty use to man's health, for the amending of bad blood by borrowing from a better body. After supper, James Houblon and another brother took me aside and to talk of some businesses of their owne, where I am to serve them, and then to talk of publique matters, and I do find that they and all merchants else do give over trade and the nation for lost, nothing being done with care or foresight, no convoys granted, nor any thing done to satisfaction; but do think that the Dutch and French will master us the next yeare, do what we can: and so do I, unless necessity makes the King to mind his business, which might yet save all.

¹ William Croone, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, chosen Rhetoric Professor at Gresham College, 1659, F.R.S. and M.D. Ob. 1684, and interred at St. Mildred's in the Poultry.

² A few years since there was an attempt to revive this experiment: see also 21st and 30th November, 1667. All the important facts relating to the subject may be read in an article on "Transfusion," by Dr. Kay, in the "Cyclopædia of Practical Medicine," and in the works quoted by him.

15th. To Mrs. Pierce's, where I find her as fine as possible, and Mr. Pierce going to the ball at night at Court, it being the Queen's birth-day. I also to the ball, and with much ado got up to the loft, where with much trouble I could see very well. Anon the house grew full, and the candles light, and the King and Queen and all the ladies sat : and it was, indeed, a glorious sight to see Mrs. Stewart in black and white lace, and her head and shoulders dressed with diamonds, and the like many great ladies more, only the Queen none ; and the King in his rich vest of some rich silke and silver trimming, as the Duke of York and all the dancers were, some of cloth of silver, and others of other sorts, exceeding rich. Presently after the King was come in, he took the Queen, and about fourteen more couple there was, and begun the Bransles. As many of the men as I can remember presently, were, the King, Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Monmouth, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Douglas, Mr. [George] Hamilton, Colonel Russell, Mr. Griffith, Lord Ossory, Lord Rochester ; and of the ladies, the Queen, Duchess of York, Mrs. Stewart, Duchess of Monmouth, Lady Essex Howard,¹ Mrs. Temple,² Swedes Embassadress,³ Lady

¹ Only daughter of James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk, by his first wife, Susannah, daughter of Henry Rich, Earl of Holland ; afterwards married, 4th March, 1666-7, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Edward Griffin, Lord Griffin of Braybrooke. There is a very fine portrait of her at Audley End, by Lely.

² Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Temple, of Frankton, in Warwickshire, by Rebecca, daughter of Sir Nicholas Carew, of Beddington, in Surrey, became the second wife of Sir Charles Lyttelton, who had been Governor of Jamaica, and lived to be eighty-seven. His lady survived him four years, dying in 1718, and had issue by him eight daughters and five sons. From this alliance the Lords Lyttelton descend.

³ "The Lord George Flemming, the Lord Peter Julius Coyet, ambassadors-extraordinary from the crown of Sweden, made their public entry through the City of London, on the 27th June,

Arlington,¹ Lord George Barkeley's daughter,² and many others I remember not; but all most excellently dressed in rich petticoats and gowns, and dyamonds, and pearls. After the Bransles, then to a Corant, and now and then a French dance; but that so rare that the Corants grew tiresome, that I wished it done. Only Mrs. Stewart danced mighty finely, and many French dances, specially one the King called the New Dance, which was very pretty; but upon the whole matter, the business of the dancing of itself was not extraordinary pleasing. But the clothes and sight of the persons were indeed very pleasing, and worth my coming, being never likely to see more gallantry while I live, if I should come twenty times. About twelve at night it broke up. So away home with my wife, between displeased with the dull dancing, and satisfied with the clothes and persons. My Lady Castlemaine, without whom all is nothing, being there, very rich, though not dancing.

16th. This noon I met with Mr. Hooke, and he tells me the dog which was filled with another dog's blood, at the College the other day, is very well, and like to be so as ever, and doubts not its being found of great use to men; and so do Dr. Whistler, who dined with us at the *taverne*.

17th. In the afternoon shut myself up in my chamber, and there till twelve at night finishing my great letter to the Duke of York, which do lay the ill condition of the Navy so open to him, that it is impossible if the King and he minds any thing of their business, but it will operate upon them to set all matters right, and get money to carry on the war,

1666."—*POINTER'S History*, vol. i. p. 213. The lady was the wife of one of these.

¹ See 12th July, *ante*.

² George Lord Berkeley had six daughters. The one mentioned here was probably the eldest, Lady Elizabeth.

before it be too late, or else lay out for a peace upon any termes. It was a great convenience to-night that what I had writ foule in short hand, I could read it to W. Hewer, and he take it fair in short hand, so as I can read it to-morrow to Sir W. Coventry, and then come home, and Hewer read it to me while I take it in long-hand to present, which saves me much time.

18th. (Lord's day.) On foot to White Hall, where by appointment I met Lord Brouncker at Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there I read over my great letter, and they approved it: so I think it is as good a letter in the manner, and believe it is the worst in the matter of it, as ever come from any office to a prince. To Sir W. Batten. He was in a huffe, which I made light of, but he signed the letter, though he would not go, and liked the letter well. Sir W. Pen, it seems, he would not stay for it: so, making slight of Sir W. Pen's putting so much weight upon his hand, I to White Hall, and there met Lord Brouncker, and he signed it, and so I delivered it to Mr. Chiffinch, and he to Sir W. Coventry, in the cabinet, the King and councill being sitting, where I leave it to its fortune, and I by water home again to even my Journall; and then comes Captain Cocke to me, and he and I a great deal of melancholy discourse of the times, giving all over for gone, though now the Parliament will soon finish the Bill for money. But we fear, if we had it, as matters are now managed, we shall never make the best of it, but consume it all to no purpose or a bad one.

19th. To Barkeshire-house,¹ where my Lord Chancellor hath been ever since the fire. To the

¹ Belonging to the Earl of Berkshire; afterwards purchased by Charles II., and presented to the Duchess of Cleveland, whose name is preserved in "Cleveland Row." It was then of great extent, and stood on or near the site of Bridgewater House.

Bull-head tavern, where I have not been since Mr. Chetwind and the time of our club, and here had six bottles of claret filled, and I sent them to Mrs. Martin, whom I had promised some of my owne, and, having none of my owne, sent her this. Took coach to White Hall, and there visited my Lady Jemimah, at Sir G. Carteret's lodgings. Here was Sir Thomas Crew, who told me how hot words grew again to-day in the House of Lords between my Lord Ossory and Ashly, the former saying that something said by the other was said like one of Oliver's Council. Ashly said he must give him reparation, or he would take it his owne way. The House therefore did bring my Lord Ossory to confess his fault, and ask pardon for it, as he did also to my Lord Buckingham, for saying that something was not truth that my Lord Buckingham had said. This will render my Lord Ossory very little in a little time.

20th. Called up by Mr. Shepley, who is going into the country to-day to Hinchinbroke, and sent my service to my Lady, and in general for newes : that the world do think very well of my Lord, and do wish he were here again, but that the publique matters of the State as to the war are in the worst condition that is possible. Then to church, it being thanksgiving-day for the cessation of the plague ; but, Lord ! how the towne do say that it is hastened before the plague is quite over, there dying some people still, but only to get ground for plays to be publickly acted, which the Bishops would not suffer till the plague was over ; and one would thinke so, by the suddenness of the notice given of the day, which was last Sunday, and the little ceremony. The sermon being dull of Mr. Minnes, and people with great indifferency come to hear him. After church home, where I met Mr. Gregory, who I did then agree with to come to teach my wife to play on

the Viall, and he being an able and sober man, I am mightily glad of it. After dinner by coach to Berkshire-house, and there did get a very great meeting ; the Duke of York being there, and much business done, though not in proportion to the greatness of the business, and my Lord Chancellor sleeping and snoring the greater part of the time. Among other things I declared the state of our credit as to tallies to raise money by, and there was an order for payment of 5,000*l.* to Mr. Gauden, out of which I hope to get something against Christmas. Here we sat late, and I did hear that there are some troubles like to be in Scotland, there being a discontented party already risen, that have seized on the Governor of Dumfreeze and imprisoned him, but the story is yet very uncertain, and therefore I set no great weight on it. So home and with great pleasure to spend the evening upon my Lyra Viall, and then to supper and to bed with mighty peace of mind and a hearty desire that I had but what I have quietly in the country, but, I fear, I do at this day see the best that either I or the rest of our nation will ever see.

21st. I to wait on Sir Philip Howard, whom I find dressing himself in his night-gown and turban like a Turke, but one of the finest persons that ever I saw in my life. He had several gentlemen of his owne waiting on him, and one playing finely on the gittar : he discourses as well as ever I heard man, in few words and handsome. He expressed all kindness to Balty, when I told him how sick he is : he says that, before he comes to be mustered again, he must bring a certificate of his swearing the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and having taken the Sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. This, I perceive, is imposed on all.

22nd. My Lord Brouncker did show me Hollar's

new print of the City,¹ with a pretty representation of that part which is burnt, very fine indeed; and tells me that he was yesterday sworn the King's servant, and that the King hath commanded him to go on with his great map of the City,² which he was upon before the City was burned, like Gombout of Paris,³ which I am glad of. At noon home to dinner, where my wife and I fell out, I being displeased with her cutting away a lace handkercher sewed about the neck to her breasts almost, out of a belief, but without reason, that it is the fashion. Here we did give one another the lie too much, but were presently friends, and then I to my office, where very late and did much business, and then home, and there find Mr. Batelier, and did sup and play at cards awhile. But he tells me the newes how the King of France hath, in defiance to the King of England, caused all his footmen to be put into vests,⁴ and that the noble-

¹ "A Map or Ground Plott of the City of London, with the Suburbs thereof, so far as the Lord Mayor's jurisdiction doth extend; by which is exactly demonstrated the present condition since the last sad accident by fire; the blanke space signifying the burnt part, and where the houses be, those places yet standing.—W. Hollar, f. 1666. Cum Privilegio Regis."

² Hollar engraved, in 1675, "A new Map of the Citties of London, Westminster, and the Borough of Southwarke, with their Suburbs; shewing the streets, lanes, alleys, courts, &c., with other remarks, as they are now truely and carefully delineated; and the prospect of London, as it was flourishing before the destruction by fire." Sold by Robert Green and Robert Morden. A large sheet. In the Pepysian Library is a very long prospect of London and Westminster, taken at several stations to the southward thereof, by William Morgan.—Gough's *British Topography*, vol. i. pp. 753-5.

³ Gombout's Plan of Paris, on a very large scale, was engraved in 1642. It is of great rarity. A copy, which was in the possession of the Baron Walckenaer, was purchased for a royal personage, at his sale at Paris, in April, 1853, Lot 3028, for more than 1,000 francs.

⁴ It is possible that some tradition of this proceeding of Louis XIV. may have given to Steele the hint for his story of the rival

men of France will do the like ; which, if true, is the greatest indignity ever done by one Prince to another, and would incite a stone to be revenged ; and I hope our King will, if it be so, as he tells me it is :¹ being told by one that came over from Paris with my Lady Fanshaw, who is come over with the dead body of her husband,² and that saw it before he came away. This makes me mighty merry, it being an ingenious kind of affront ; but yet it makes me angry, to see that the King of England is become so little as to have the affront offered him. Batelier did bring us some oysters to-night, and some bottles of new French wine of this year, mighty good, but I drank but little.

23rd. Attended the Duke of York, where, among other things, we had a complaint of Sir William Jennings's³ against his lieutenant, Le Neve, one that had been long the Duke's page, and for whom the Duke of York hath great kindness. It was a drunken quarrel, where one was as blameable as the other. It was referred to further examination, but the Duke of York declared, that as he would not favour disobedience, so neither drunkenness. I spoke with Sir G. Downing about our prisoners in Holland, and their being released ; which he is concerned in, and most of them are. Then, discoursing of matters of the House of Parliament, he tells me that it is not the fault of the House, but the King's own party,

ladies, Brunetta and Phillis, in the "Spectator," No. 80 ; a subject which has been well treated by Stothard : as also in a clever picture by Mr. A. Solomon, exhibited at the Royal Academy in the year 1853.

¹ Perhaps this influenced Charles II. in abandoning his new costume, which, at all events, was shortly discontinued, notwithstanding his having betted that it should never be changed.

² Sir Richard Fanshaw.

³ He was a distinguished sea-officer, and brother of Sir Robert Jennings, of Ripon. He attended James II. after his abdication, and served as a Captain in the French Navy.

that have hindered the passing of the Bill for money, by their popping in of new projects for raising it : which is a strange thing ; and mighty confident he is, that what money is raised, will be raised and put into the same form that the last was, to come into the Exchequer ; and, for aught I see, I must confess I think it is the best way.

24th. With Sir J. Minnes by coach to Stepney to the Trinity House, where it is kept again now since the burning of their other house in London. And here a great many met at Sir Thomas Allen's feast, of his being made an Elder Brother ; but he is sick, and so could not be there. Here was much good company, and very merry ; but the discourse of Scotland, it seems, is confirmed, and that they are 4000 of them in armes, and do declare for King and Covenant, which is very ill news. I pray God deliver us from the ill consequences we may justly fear from it. Sir Philip Warwick, I find, is full of trouble in his mind to see how things go, and what our wants are ; and so I have no delight to trouble him with discourse, though I honour the man with all my heart, and I think him to be a very able, right-honest man. To read the late printed discourse of witches by a member of Gresham College :¹ the discourse being well writ, in good stile, but methinks not very convincing.

25th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall, and there to the chapel, where in my usual place I heard one of the King's chaplains, one Mr. Floyd, preach. He was out two or three times in his prayer, and as many in his sermon, but yet he made a most excellent good sermon, of our duty to imitate the lives and practice of Christ and the saints departed, and did it very handsomely and excellent stile ; but was a little

¹ "A Blow at Modern Sadducism, with an account of the Demon of Tedworth," 4to. London, 1666.

overlarge in magnifying the graces of the nobility and prelates, that we have seen in our memorys in the world, whom God hath taken from us. At the end of the sermon an excellent anthem; but it was a pleasant thing, an idle companion in our pew, a prating, bold counsellor that hath been heretofore at the Navy Office, and noted for a great eater and drinker, not for quantity, but of the best, his name Tom Bales, said, "I know a fitter anthem for this sermon," speaking only of our duty of following the saints, and I know not what. "Cooke should have sung, 'Come, follow, follow me.'"¹ To Sir G. Carteret's to dinner; where much company. Among others, Mr. Carteret and my Lady Jemimah, and Mr. [John] Ashburnham, the great man, who is a pleasant man, and that hath seen much of the world, and more of the Court. Into the Court, and attended there till the Council met, and then was called in, and I read my letter. My Lord Treasurer declared that the King had nothing to give till the Parliament did give him some money. So the King did of himself bid me to declare to all that would take our tallies for payment, that he should, soon as the Parliament's money do come in, take back their tallies, and give them money: which I giving him occasion to repeat to me, it coming from him against the *gré*, I perceive, of my Lord Treasurer, I was content therewith, and went out, and glad I have got so much. All the talke of Scotland, where the highest report, I perceive, runs but upon three or four hundred in armes; but they believe that it will grow more, and do seem to apprehend it much, as if the King of France had a hand in it. My Lord Lauderdale do make nothing of it, it seems, and people do censure him for it, he

¹ This is the first line of "The Fairy Queen," which, with the air, is printed in the "Musical Miscellany," London, 1729, vol. ii. p. 22.

from the beginning saying that there was nothing in it, whereas it do appear to be a pure rebellion ; but no persons of quality being in it, all do hope that it cannot amount to much. Here I saw Mrs. Stewart this afternoon, methought the beautifullest creature that ever I saw in my life, more than ever I thought her, so often as I have seen her ; and I begin to think do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least now. This being St. Catherine's day, the Queen was at masse by seven o'clock this morning ; and Mr. Ashburnham do say that he never saw any one have so much zeale in his life as she hath : and, the question being asked by my Lady Carteret, much beyond the bigotry that ever the old Queen-mother had. I spoke with Mr. May,¹ who tells me that the design of building the City do go on apace,² and by his description it will be mighty handsome, and to the satisfaction of the people ; but I pray God it come not out too late. Mr. Ashburnham to-day at dinner told how the rich fortune Mrs. Mallett reports of her servants :³ that my Lord Herbert⁴ would have her ; my Lord Hinchingbroke was indifferent to have her ;⁵ my Lord John Butler⁶ might not have her ; my Lord of

¹ Hugh May.

² The first brick laid after the fire was in Fleet Street, at the house of a plumber, to cast his lead in, only one room.—RUGGE'S *Diurnal*.

³ *i.e.* lovers.

⁴ William Lord Herbert succeeded his father as sixth Earl of Pembroke, 1669. Ob. unmarried, 1674.

⁵ They had quarrelled. (See 26th August, *ante*.) She, perhaps, was piqued at Lord Hinchingbroke's refusal "to compass the thing without consent of friends" (see 25th February, *ante*), whence her expression; "indifferent" to have her. It is worthy of remark that their children intermarried ; Lord Hinchingbroke's son married Lady Rochester's daughter.

⁶ Seventh son of the Duke of Ormond, created in 1676 Baron of Aghrim, Viscount of Clonmore, and Earl of Gowran. Ob. 1667, s. p. : see 4th February, *post*.

Rochester would have forced her;¹ and Sir — Popham,² who nevertheless is likely to have her, would do anything to have her.³

26th. Into the House of Parliament, where, at a great Committee, I did hear, as long as I would, the great case against my Lord Mordaunt,⁴ for some

¹ Of the lady thus sought after, whom Pepys calls "a beauty" as well as a fortune, and who shortly afterwards, about the 4th. February, 1667, became the wife of the Earl of Rochester, then not twenty years old, no authentic portrait is known to exist. When Mr. Miller, of Albemarle Street, in 1811, proposed to publish an edition of the "*Mémoires de Grammont*," he sent an artist to Windsor to copy there the portraits which he could find of those who figure in that work. In the list given to him for this purpose was the name of Lady Rochester. Not finding amongst the "Beauties," or elsewhere, any genuine portrait of her, but seeing that by Hamilton she is absurdly styled "*une triste héritière*," the artist made a drawing from some unknown portrait at Windsor, of a lady of a sorrowful countenance, and palmed it off upon the bookseller. In the edition of "*Grammont*" it is not actually called Lady Rochester, but "*La Triste Héritière*." A similar falsification had been practised in Edwards's edition of 1793, but a different portrait had been copied. It is needless, almost, to remark how ill applied is Hamilton's epithet.

² Probably Sir Francis Popham, K.B.

³ The expression in the original, being indelicate, is softened.

⁴ John Mordaunt, younger son to the first, and brother to the second Earl of Peterborough, having incurred considerable personal risk in endeavouring to promote the King's Restoration, was, in 1659, created Baron Mordaunt of Reigate, and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon. He was brought to trial and acquitted but by one voice just before Cromwell's death. ("*Quarterly Review*," vol. xix. p. 31.) He was soon afterwards made K.B., Lord-Lieutenant of Surrey, and Constable of Windsor Castle; which offices he held till his death, in 1675. In January, 1666-7, Lord Mordaunt was impeached by the House of Commons, for forcibly ejecting William Tayleur and his family from the apartments which they occupied in Windsor Castle, where Tayleur held some appointment, and imprisoning him, for having presumed to offer himself as a candidate for the borough of Windsor. Lord M. was also accused of improper conduct towards Tayleur's daughter. He, however, denied all these charges in his place in the House of Lords, and put in an answer to the articles of impeachment, for hearing which a day was absolutely fixed; but the Parliament

arbitrary proceedings of his against one Taylor, whom he imprisoned, and did all the violence to imaginable, only to get him to give way to his abusing his daughter. Here was Mr. Sawyer,¹ my old chamber-fellow, a counsel against my Lord; and I was glad to see him in so good play. Here I met, before the committee sat, with my cozen Roger Pepys, the first time I have spoke with him this parliament. He hath promised to come, and bring Madam Turner with him, who is come to towne to see the City, but hath lost all her goods of all kinds in Salisbury Court, Sir William Turner having not endeavoured, in her absence, to save one penny, to dine with me on Friday next. Roger bids me to help him to some good rich widow; for he is resolved to go, and retire wholly, into the country; for, he says, he is confident we shall be all ruined very speedily, by what he sees in the State. No newes from the North at all to-day; and the newes-book makes the business nothing, but that they are all dispersed. I pray God it may prove so.

27th. At Sir G. Carteret's find my Lord Hinchbroke, who promises to dine with me to-morrow, and bring Mr. Carteret along with him. Then away to my Lord Crew, and had some good discourse with

being shortly afterwards prorogued, the inquiry seems to have been entirely abandoned, notwithstanding the vehemence with which the House of Commons had taken the matter up. Perhaps the King interfered in Lord Mordaunt's behalf; because Andrew Marvel, in his "Instructions to a Painter," after saying,

"Now Mordaunt may within his castle tower
Imprison parents and the child deflower,"

observes,

"Each does the other blame, and all distrust,
But Mordaunt, *new obliged*, would sure be just."

¹ Afterwards Sir Robert Sawyer, Attorney-General from 1681 to 1687. Ob. 1692. He had been admitted a Pensioner at Magdalene College, Cambridge, June, 1648.

him, he doubting that all will break in pieces in the kingdom ; and that the taxes now coming out, which will tax the same man in three or four several capacities, as for lands, office, profession, and money at interest, will be the hardest that ever came out ; and do think that we owe it, and the lateness of its being given, wholly to the unpreparedness of the King's own party, to make their demand and choice ; for they have obstructed the giving it by land-tax, which had been done long since. Having ended my visit, I spoke to Sir Thomas Crew, to invite him and his brother John to dinner, to-morrow ; and so homewards, calling at the cook's, who is to dress it, to bespeak him, and then home, and there set things in order for a very fine dinner, and then to the office, where late very busy and to good purpose as to dispatch of business and then home. To bed, my people sitting up to get things in order against to-morrow. This evening was brought to me what Griffin had, as he says, taken this evening off of the table in the office, a letter sealed and directed to the Principal Officers and Commissioners of the Navy. It is a serious and just libel against our disorder in paying of our money, making ten times more people wait than we have money for, and complaining by name of Sir W. Batten for paying away great sums to particular people, which is true. I was sorry to see this way of reproach taken against us, but more sorry that there is true ground for it.

28th. To White Hall ; where, though it blows hard and rains hard, yet the Duke of York is gone a-hunting. We therefore lost our labour, and so to get things ready against dinner at home : and at noon comes my Lord Hinchinbroke, Sir Thomas Crew, Mr. John Crew, Mr. Carteret, and Brisband. I had six noble dishes for them, dressed by a man-cook, and commended, as indeed they deserved, for ex-

ceeding well done. We eat with great pleasure, and I enjoyed myself in it with reflections upon the pleasures which I at best can expect, yet not to exceed this; eating in silver plates, and all things mighty rich and handsome about me. Till dark at dinner, and then broke up with great pleasure, especially to myself; and they away, only Mr. Carteret and I to Gresham College, where they meet now weekly again, and here they had good discourse how this late experiment of the dog, which is in perfect good health, may be improved for good uses to men. Here was Mr. Henry Howard,¹ that will hereafter be Duke of Norfolk, who is admitted this day into the Society, and being a very proud man, and one that values himself upon his family, writes his name, as he do every where, Henry Howard of Norfolk. Thence home and there comes my Lady Pen Pegg and Mrs. Turner and played at cards and supped with us, and were mighty merry, and so spent the evening and then broke up, and I to bed, my mind mightily pleased with the day's entertainment.

29th. I late at the office, and all the newes I hear I put into a letter this night to my Lord Brouncker at Chatham, thus:—

“I doubt not of your lordship's hearing of Sir Thomas Clifford's succeeding Sir H. Pollard² in the Comptrollership of the King's house; but perhaps our ill, but confirmed, tidings from the Barbadoes may not have reached you yet, it coming but yesterday; viz., that about eleven ships, whereof two of the King's, the Hope and Coventry, going thence with men to attack St. Christopher's, were seized by a violent hurricane, and all sunk—two only of thirteen

¹ See note in “Life,” vol. i.

² Sir Hugh Pollard, Bart., M.P. for Devonshire. Ob. Nov. 27, 1666.

escaping, and those with loss of masts, &c. My Lord Willoughby¹ himself is involved in the disaster, and I think two ships thrown upon an island of the French, and so all the men, to 500, become their prisoners. 'Tis said, too, that eighteen Dutch men-of-war are passed the Channell, in order to meet with our Smyrna ships; and some, I hear, do fright us with the King of Sweden's seizing our mast-ships at Gottenburgh. But we have too much ill newes true, to afflict ourselves with what is uncertain. That which I hear from Scotland is, the Duke of York's saying, yesterday, that he is confident the Lieutenant-Generall there hath driven them into a pound, somewhere towards the mountains."

To show how mad we are at home, here, and unfit for any troubles: my Lord St. John did, a day or two since, openly pull a gentleman in Westminster Hall by the nose, one Sir Andrew Henly², while the Judges were upon their benches, and the other gentleman did give him a rap over the pate with his cane, of which fray the Judges, they say, will make a great matter: men are only sorry the gentleman did proceed to return a blow; for, otherwise, my Lord would have been soundly fined for the affront, and may be yet for his affront to the Judges.

30th. To White Hall; and pretty to see, it being St. Andrew's day, how some few did wear St. Andrew's crosse; but most did make a mockery at it, and the House of Parliament, contrary to practice, did sit also: people having no mind to observe the Scotch saints' days till they hear better newes from Scotland. Thence home, and just overtook my cozen Roger Pepys, Mrs. Turner, Dike, and Joyce Norton,

¹ Francis Willoughby, fourth Lord Willoughby of Parham, drowned at Barbadoes in 1666.

² Of Hartshill, Hants; and of Henley, Somersetshire. He was created a Baronet in June, 1660, and died about 1675.

coming by invitation to dine with me. These ladies I have not seen since before the plague. Mrs. Turner is come to towne to look after her things in her house, but all is lost. She is quite weary of the country, but cannot get her husband to let her live here any more, which troubles her mightily. She was mighty angry with me, that in all this time I never wrote to her, which I do think and take to myself as a fault, and which I have promised to mend. Here I had a noble and costly dinner for them, dressed by a man-cooke, as that the other days was, and pretty merry we were, as I could be with this company and so great a change.

December 1st. Walking to the Old Swan, I did see a cellar in Tower Streete in a very fresh fire, the late great winds having blown it up.¹ It seemed to be only of log-wood, that hath kept the fire all this while in it. Going further, I met my late Lord Mayor Bludworth, under whom the City was burned. But, Lord! the silly talk that this silly fellow had, only how ready he would be to part with all his estate in these difficult times to advocate the King's service, and complaining that now, as every body did lately in the fire, every body endeavours to save himself, and let the whole perish: but a very weak man he seems to be. By coach home, in the evening, calling at Faythorne's, buying three of my Lady Castlemaine's heads, printed this day,² which indeed is, as to the head, I think, a very fine picture, and like her. I did this afternoon get Mrs. Michell to let me only have a sight of a pamphlet lately printed, but sup-

¹ The fire continued burning in some cellars of the ruins of the city for four months, though it rained in the month of October ten days without ceasing.—RUGGE's *Diurnal*.

² See 7th Nov, *ante*. A fine impression of this now very rare print was purchased for the Duke of Buckingham, at Bindley's sale, in 1819, for 79*l.*; and resold at the Stowe sale, in 1849, for 33*l.*

pressed and much called after, called "The Catholique's Apology;"¹ lamenting the severity of the Parliament against them, and comparing it with the lenity of other princes to Protestants; giving old and late instances of their loyalty to their princes, whatever is objected against them; and excusing their disquiets in Queen Elizabeth's time, for that it was impossible for them to think her a lawfull Queen, if Queen Mary, who had been owned as such, were so; one being the daughter of the true, and the other of a false wife: and that of the Gunpowder Treason, by saying that it was only the practice of some of us, if not the King, to trepan some of their religion into it, it never being defended by the generality of their Church, nor indeed known by them; and ends with a large Catalogue, in red letters, of the Catholiques which have lost their lives in the quarrel of the late King and this. The thing is very well writ indeed.

2nd. (Lord's day.) My wife and I to Mr. Martin's, where find the company almost all come to the christening of Mrs. Martin's child, a girl. A great deal of good plain company. After sitting long, till the church was done, the Parson comes, and then we to christen the child. I was Godfather, and Mrs. Holder, her husband, a good man, I know well, and a pretty lady, that waits, it seems, on my Lady Bath,² at White Hall, her name, Mrs. Noble, were God-

¹ "An Apology in behalf of the Papists," by Roger Palmer, first Earl of Castlemaine. The piece has not his name, but it was answered by Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, in 1667; and Lord Castlemaine and Robert Pugh, a secular priest, his assistant, published a reply to the Bishop, in 1668. Both the Earl's pamphlets were seized by order of the House of Commons.—*WALPOLE'S Noble Authors.*

² Lady Bath was Rachel, daughter of Francis, Earl of Westmoreland, widow of Henry Bourchier, Earl of Bath. She afterwards married Lionel Cranfield, third Earl of Middlesex.

mothers. After the christening comes in the wine and the sweetmeats, and then to prate and tattle, and then very good company they were, and I among them. Here was old Mrs. Michell and Howlett, and several of the married women of the Hall, whom I knew mayds. Here was also Mrs. Burroughs and Mrs. Bales, the young widow, whom I led home, and having staid till the moon was up, I took my pretty gossip¹ to White Hall with us, and I saw her in her lodging, and then my owne company again took coach, and no sooner in the coach but something broke, that we were fain there to stay till a smith could be fetched, which was above an hour, and then it costing me 6s. to mend. Away round by the wall and Cow Lane, for fear it should break again, and in pain about the coach all the way. I went to Sir W. Batten's, and there I hear more ill newes still: that all our New England fleete, which went out lately, are put back a third time by foul weather, and dispersed, some to one port and some to another; and their convoys also to Plymouth; and whether any of them be lost or not, we do not know. This, added to all the rest, do lay us flat in our hopes and courages, every body prophesying destruction to the nation.

3rd. Up, and, among a great number of people that came to speak with me, one was my Lord Peterborough's gentleman, who comes to me to dun me to get some money advanced for my Lord; and I demanding what newes, he tells me that at Court they begin to fear the business of Scotland more and more, and that the Duke of York intends to go to the North to raise an army, and that the King would have some of the nobility and others to go and assist; but they were so served the last year, among others

¹ Mrs Noble.



his Lord, in raising forces at their own charge, for fear of the French invading us, that they will not be got out now, without money advanced to them by the King, and this is likely to be the King's case for certain, if ever he comes to have need of any army. By water to Westminster, and there to the Exchequer, and put my tallys in a way of doing for the last quarter. At noon home, and there find Kate Joyce, who dined with me. Her husband and she are weary of their new life of being an Innkeeper, and will leave it, and would fain get some office; but I know none the foole is fit for, but would be glad to help them, if I could, though they have enough to live on, God be thanked! though their loss has been to the value of 3,000*l*. W. Joyce now has all the trade, she says, the trade being come to that end of the towne. To bed, being weary of the following of my pleasure and sorry for my omitting, though with a true salvo to my vowes, the stating my last accounts in time, as I should, but resolve to settle, and clear all my business before me this month, that I may begin afresh the next yeare, and enjoy some little pleasure freely at Christmas. So to bed, and with more cheerfulness than I have been a good while, to hear that for certain the Scotch rebels are all routed; they having been so bold as to come within three miles of Edinburgh, and there given two or three repulses to the King's forces, but at last were mastered. Three or four hundred killed or taken, among which their leader, Wallis, and seven ministers, they having all taken the Covenant a few days before, and sworn to live and die in it, as they did; and so all is likely to be there quiet again. There is also the very good newes come of four New-England ships come home safe to Falmouth with masts for the King; which is a blessing mighty unexpected, and without which, if for nothing else, we must have

failed the next year. But God be praised for thus much good fortune, and send us the continuance of his favour in other things !

5th. By water to White Hall, where we did much business before the Duke of York. At noon home, and Goodgroomedined with us, who teaches my wife to sing. I did give him my song, "Beauty retire," which he has often desired of me, and without flattery I think is a very good song. To the office, and there late, very busy doing much business, and then home to supper and talk, and then scold with my wife for not reckoning well the times that her musique master has been with her, but setting down more than I am sure, and did convince her, they had been, and in an ill humour of anger with her to bed.

6th. Up, but very good friends with her before I rose, and so to the office, where we sat all the forenoon, and then home to dinner, where Harman dined with us, and great sport to hear him tell how Will Joyce grows rich by the custom of the City coming to his end of the towne, and how he rants over his brother and sister for their keeping an Inne, and goes thither and tears like a prince, calling him hosteller and his sister hostess. Then after dinner, my wife and brother, in another habit,¹ go out to see a play ; but I am not to take notice that I know of my brother's going. This day, in the Gazette, is the whole story of defeating of the Scotch rebels, and of the creation of the Duke of Cambridge, Knight of the Garter.²

7th. Up and by water to the Exchequer, where I got my tallys finished for the last quarter for Tangier, and having paid all my fees I to the Swan,

¹ *i.e.*, without his canonicals.

² James, Earl and Duke of Cambridge, second son of the Duke of York, and one of the five boys who all died infants. At the time when he was created K.G., he was only three years and five months old. He died seven months afterwards.

whither I sent for some oysters. and thither comes Mr. Falconbridge and Spicer and many more clerks, and there we eat and drank, and a great deal of their sorry discourse, and so parted, and I by coach home, meeting Balty in the streete about Charing Crosse, which I was glad to see and spoke to him about his mustering business, I being now to give an account how the several muster-masters have behaved themselves, and so home to dinner, where finding the cloth laid and much crumpled but clean, I grew angry and flung the trenchers about the room, and in a mighty heat I was : so a clean cloth was laid, and my poor wife very patient, and so to dinner, and in comes Mrs. Barbara Sheldon, now Mrs. Wood, and dined with us, she mighty fine, and lives, I perceive, mighty happily, which I am glad of for her sake, but hate her husband for a block-head in his choice. So away after dinner leaving my wife and her, and by water to the Strand, and so to the King's playhouse, where two acts were almost done when I came in ; and there I sat with my cloak about my face, and saw the remainder of "The Mayd's Tragedy ;" a good play, and well acted, especially by the younger Marshall, who is become a pretty good actor, and is the first play I have seen in either of the houses, since before the great plague, they having acted now about fourteen days publickly. But I was in mighty pain, lest I should be seen by any body to be at a play.

8th. The great Proviso passed the House of Parliament yesterday ; which makes the King and Court mad, the King having given order to my Lord Chamberlain to send to the playhouses and brothels, to bid all the Parliament-men that were there to go to the Parliament presently. This is true, it seems ; but it was carried against the Court by thirty or forty voices. It is a Proviso to the Poll Bill, that there

shall be a Committee of nine persons that shall have the inspection upon oath, and power of giving others, of all the accounts of the money given and spent for this war. This hath a most sad face, and will breed very ill blood. He tells me, brought in by Sir Robert Howard,¹ who is one of the King's servants, at least hath a great office, and hath got, they say, 20,000*l.* since the King came in. Mr. Pierce did also tell me as a great truth, as being told it by Mr. Cowly,² who was by, and heard it, that Tom Killigrew should publicely tell the King that his matters were coming into a very ill state; but that yet there was a way to help all. Says he, "There is a good, honest, able man, that I could name, that if your Majesty would employ, and command to see all things well executed, all things would soon be mended; and this is one Charles Stuart, who now spends his time in employing his lips and lusts about the Court, and hath no other employment; but if you would give him this employment, he were the fittest man in the world to perform it." This, he says, is most true; but the King do not profit by any of this, but lays all aside, and remembers nothing, but to his pleasures again; which is a sorrowful consideration. To the King's playhouse, which troubles me since and hath cost me a forfeit of 10*s.*, which I have paid, and there did see a good part of "The English Monsieur,"³ which is a mighty pretty play, very witty and pleasant. And the women do very well; but, above

¹ A younger son of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire, educated at Magdalene College, Cambridge; knighted at the Restoration, and chosen M.P. for Stockbridge, and afterwards for Castle Rising. He was Auditor of the Exchequer, and a creature of Charles II., who employed him in cajoling the Parliament for money. He published some poems, plays, and political tracts. Ob. 1698.

² Abraham Cowley, the poet.

³ A comedy, by the Hon. James Howard, printed in 4to., 1674.

all, little Nelly,¹ that I am mightily pleased with the play, and much with the House, more than ever I expected, the women doing better than ever I expected, and very fine women. Here I was in pain to be seen, and hid myself; but, as God would have it, Sir John Chichly come, and sat just by me. I hear that this Proviso in Parliament is mightily ill taken by all the Court party as a mortal blow, and that, that strikes deep into the King's prerogative, which troubles me mightily. In much fear of ill news of our colliers. A fleete of two hundred sail, and fourteen Dutch men-of-war between them and us: and they coming home with small convoy; and the City in great want, coals being at 3*l.* 3*s.* per chaldron, as I am told. I saw smoke in the ruines this very day.

9th. (Lord's day.) Up, not to church, but to my chamber, and there begun to enter into this book my journall for September, which in the fire-time I could not enter here, but in loose papers. At noon dined, and then to my chamber all the afternoon and night, looking over and tearing and burning all the unnecessary letters, which I have had upon my file for four or five years backward, which I intend to do quite through all my papers, that I may have nothing by me but what is worth keeping, and fit to be seen, if I should miscarry.

10th. Captain Cocke, with whom I walked in the garden, tells me how angry the Court is at the late Proviso brought in by the House. How still my Lord Chancellor is, not daring to do or say any thing to displease the Parliament; that the Parliament is in a very ill humour, and grows every day more and more so; and that the unskilfulness of the Court, and their difference among one another, is the occasion of all not agreeing in what they would have, and so

¹ She played Lady Wealthy.

they give leisure and occasion to the other part to run away with what the Court would not have.

11th. After dinner my wife and I to St. Clement's Church, to Mrs. Turner's lodgings, hard by, to take our leaves of her. She is returning to the North to her children, whereby, I perceive, her husband hath clearly got the mastery of her, and she is likely to spend her days there.¹ Here were several people come to see and take leave of her, she going to-morrow: among others, my Lady Mordant,² which was Betty Turner, a most homely widow, but young, and pretty rich, and good natured. Thence, having promised to write every month to her, we home, and I to my office, while my wife to get things together for supper. Anon come our guests, old Mr. Batelier, and his son and daughter, Mercer, which was all our company. We had a good venison pasty and other good cheer, and as merry as in so good, innocent, and understanding company I could be. He is much troubled that wines, laden by him in France before

¹ John Turner, here alluded to, was the eldest son and heir of Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London in 1669, better known as the munificent founder of Kirkleatham Hospital, in Yorkshire, and whose monument is still to be seen in Kirkleatham Church, and in the Hospital a likeness of him in wax-work, with the identical wig and band that he wore. In the east window of the Hospital Chapel also is a stained glass portrait of him in his mayoralty robes, and one of his eldest son. John Turner was brought up to the bar, and became a serjeant-at-law, and purchased an estate in the district of Cleveland. Besides his daughter Theophila, mentioned so often, he had issue two sons, Charles and William, from the eldest of whom descended the late Sir Charles Turner, of Kirkleatham, the second baronet of the family, and the last heir male of his race. He died in 1810. See an account of the family in "The Genealogist and Topographer," part vi.

² Sir George Mordaunt, of Massingham, Norfolk, the fourth baronet of his family, espoused Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Nicholas Johnson, of London, niece to Sir W. Turner, above-mentioned, who is the person here alluded to by Pepys. She remarried Francis Godolphin, of Colston, Wilts.—WOTTON'S *Baronetage*.

the late proclamation was out cannot now be brought into England, which is much to his and other merchants' loss. We sat long at supper and then to talk, and so late parted and so to bed. This day the Poll Bill was to be passed, and great endeavours used to take away the Proviso.

12th. Sir H. Cholmly did with grief tell me how the Parliament hath been told plainly that the King hath been heard to say, that he would dissolve them rather than pass this Bill with the Proviso; but tells me, that the Proviso is removed, and now carried that it shall be done by a Bill by itself. He tells me how the King hath lately paid above 30,000*l.*, to clear debts of my Lady Castlemaine's; and that she and her husband are parted for ever, upon good terms, never to trouble one another more. He says that he hears 400,000*l.* hath gone into the Privy-purse since this war; and that it is that hath consumed so much of our money, and makes the King and Court so mad to be brought to discover it. The very good newes is just come of our four ships from Smyrna, come safe without convoy even into the Downes, without seeing any enemy; which is the best, and indeed only considerable good newes to our Exchange, since the burning of the City; and it is strange to see how it do cheer up men's hearts. Here I saw shops now come to be in this Exchange, and met little Batelier, who sits here but at 3*l.* per annum, whereas he sat at the other at 100*l.*, which he says he believes will prove of as good account to him now as the other did at that rent. From the 'Change to Captain Cocke's, and there, by agreement, dined, and there was Charles Porter, Temple, Fenn, Debasty, whose bad English and pleasant discourses was exceeding good entertainment, Matt. Wren, Major Cooper, and myself, mighty merry and pretty discourse. They talk for certain, that now the King

do follow Mrs. Stewart wholly, and my Lady Castlemaine not above once a week ; that the Duke of York do not haunt my Lady Denham so much ; that she troubles him with matters of State, being of my Lord Bristoll's faction, and that he avoids ; that she is ill still. Newes this day from Brampton, of Mr. Ensum, my sister's sweetheart, being dead : a clowne.

13th. To the 'Change and there met Captain Cocke, and had a second time his direction to bespeak 100*l.* of plate, which I did at Sir R. Viner's, being twelve plates more, and something else I have to choose. W. Hewer dined with me, and showed me a Gazette,¹ in April last, which I wonder should never be remembered by any body, which tells how

¹ The "Gazette" of April 23-26, 1666, which contains the following remarkable passage:—"At the Sessions in the Old Bailey, John Rathbone, an old army colonel, William Saunders, Henry Tucker, Thomas Flint, Thomas Evans, John Myles, Will. Westcot, and John Cole, officers or soldiers in the late Rebellion, were indicted for conspiring the death of his Majesty and the overthrow of the Government. Having laid their plot and contrivance for the surprisal of the Tower, the killing his Grace the Lord General, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, and Sir Richard Brown ; and then to have declared for an equal division of lands, &c. *The better to effect this hellish design, the City was to have been fired,* and the portcullis let down to keep out all assistance ; and the Horse Guards to have been surprised in the inns where they were quartered, several ostlers having been gained for that purpose. The Tower was accordingly viewed, and its surprise ordered by boats over the moat, and from thence to scale the wall. One Alexander, not yet taken, had likewise distributed money to these conspirators ; and, for the carrying on the design more effectually, they were told of a Council of the great ones that sat frequently in London, from whom issued all orders ; which Council received their directions from another in Holland, who sat with the States ; and that *the third of September* was pitched on for the attempt, as being found by Lilly's Almanack, and a scheme erected for that purpose, to be a lucky day, a planet then ruling which prognosticated the downfall of Monarchy. The evidence against these persons was very full and clear, and they were accordingly found guilty of High Treason." See 10th Nov., 1666, *ante*.

several persons were then tried for their lives, and were found guilty of a design of killing the King and destroying the Government; and as a means to it, to burn the City; and that the day intended for the plot was the 3rd of last September. And the fire did indeed break out on the 2nd of September, which is very strange, methinks, and I shall remember it. Sir W. Warren and Mr. Moore both tell me that my Lord Sandwich is called home, and that he do grow more and more in esteem everywhere, and is better spoken of, which I am mighty glad of, though I knew well enough his deserving the same before, and did foresee that it will come to it. For these three or four days I perceive my overworking my eyes by candlelight do hurt them as it did the last winter, that by day I am well and do get them right, but then after candlelight they begin to be sore and run, so that I intend to get some green spectacles.

14th. By coach to White Hall, seeing many smokes of the fire by the way yet, and took up into the coach with me a country gentleman, who asked me room to go with me, it being dirty—one come out of the North to see his son, after the burning of his house: a merchant here. Endeavoured to wait on the Duke of York, but he would not stay from the Parliament. Met my good friend Mr. Evelyn, and walked with him a good while, lamenting our condition for want of good council, and the King's minding of his business and servants. The house sat till three o'clock, and then up: and I home with Sir Stephen Fox to his house to dinner, and the Cofferer¹ with us. There

¹ William Ashburnham, younger brother of John Ashburnham, and first-cousin of the Duke of Buckingham. He was an officer of distinction in the King's Army during the Civil War; and, after the Restoration, made Cofferer of the Household to Charles II. Ob. s. p. 1671. He married the "young, beautiful, and rich widow" of James Ley, Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer of England, to whom she was third wife. She was daughter

I find Sir S. Fox's lady, a fine woman, and seven the prettiest children of their's that ever I knew almost. A very genteel dinner, and in great state and fashion, and excellent discourse; and nothing like an old experienced man and a courtier, and such is the Cofferer Ashburnham. The House have been mighty hot to-day against the Paper Bill, showing all manner of averseness to give the King money; which these courtiers do take mighty notice of, and look upon the others as bad rebels as ever the last were. But the courtiers did carry it against those men upon a division of the House, a great many, that it should be committed; and so it was: which they reckon good news. Home, where I find Foundes his present, of a fair pair of candlesticks, and half a dozen of plates come, which cost him full 50*l.*, and is a very pretty present; and here I met with, sealed up, from Sir H. Cholmly, the lampoon, or the Mocke-Advice to a Paynter, abusing the Duke of York and my Lord Sandwich, Pen, and every body, and the King himself, and all the matters of the navy and war. I am sorry for my Lord Sandwich's having so great a part in it.

15th. To the office, where my Lord Brouncker, newly come to town, from his being at Chatham and Harwich to spy enormities: and at noon I met with him and his lady, Williams, to Captain Cocke's, where a good dinner, and very merry. Good news to-day upon the Exchange, that our Hamburgh fleete is got in; and good hopes that we may soon have the like of our Gottenburgh, and then we shall be well for this winter. And by and by comes in Matt.

of John, Lord Butler, of Bramfield, by Elizabeth Villiers, sister of the first Duke of Buckingham, and therefore nearly related to William Ashburnham. A splendid monument to William Ashburnham, and to the Countess of Marlborough, with whom he lived happily for nearly forty-five years, is in Ashburnham Church.

Wren¹ from the Parliament-house ; and tells us that he and all his party of the House, which is the Court party, are fools, and have been made so this day by the wise men of the other side ; for, after the Court party had carried it yesterday so powerfully for the Paper-Bill,² yet now it is laid aside wholly, and to be supplied by a land-tax ; which it is true will do well, and will be the sooner finished, which was the great argument for the doing of it. But then it shows them fools, that they would not permit this to have been done six weeks ago, which they might have had. And next, they have parted with the Paper Bill, which, when once begun, might have proved a very good flower in the Crowne, as any there. So they are truly outwitted by the other side.

16th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall, and there walked up and down to the Queen's side, and there saw my dear Lady Castlemaine, who continues admirable, methinks, and I do not hear but that the King is the same to her still as ever. Anon to chapel, by the King's closet, and heard a very good anthem. Then with Lord Brouncker to Sir W. Coventry's chamber ; and there we sat with him and talked. He is weary of anything to do, he says, in the Navy. He tells us this Committee of Accounts will enquire sharply into our office. To Sir P. Neale's chamber ; Sir Edward Walker being there ; and telling us how he hath lost many fine rolls of antiquity in heraldry by the late fire, but hath saved the most of his papers. Here was also Dr. Wallis,³ the famous scholar and mathematician ; but he promises little. Lord Brouncker tells me, that he do not believe

¹ See March 7, 1666, *ante*.

² It was called "A Bill for raising part of the supply for his Majesty by an imposition on Sealed Paper and Parchment."

³ John Wallis, S. T. P., F. R. S., Savilian Professor of Geometry. Ob. 1703, aged eighty-seven.

the Duke of York will go to sea again, though there are many about the King that would be glad of any occasion to take him out of the world, he standing in their ways; and seemed to mean the Duke of Monmouth, who spends his time the most viciously and idle of any man, nor will be fit for any thing; yet he speaks as if it were not impossible but the King would own him for his son, and that there was a marriage between his mother and him; and that nothing can help us but the King's making a peace soon as he hath this money; and thereby putting himself out of debt, and so becoming a good husband, and then he will neither need this nor any other Parliament, till he can have one to his mind: for no Parliament can, as he says, be kept long good, but that they will spoil one another, and that therefore it hath been the practice of kings to tell Parliaments what he hath for them to do, and give them so long time to do it in, and no longer.

17th. Comes Mr. Cæsar,¹ and then Goodgroome,² and, what with one and the other, nothing but musique with me this morning, to my content; and the more, to see that God Almighty hath put me into condition to bear the charge of all this. So out to the 'Change, and did a little business, and then home, where they two musicians and Mr. Cooke come to see me, and Mercer to go along with my wife this afternoon to a play. My wife well home in the evening from the play; which I was glad of, it being cold and dark, and she having her necklace of pearl on, and none but Mercer with her. Spent the evening in fitting my

¹ Mr. Cæsar seems to have been a composer. Some of his songs are in different collections of the time, under the name of William Cæsar, *alias* Smegergill.

² John Goodgroome, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal, and a composer of songs, printed in the "Treasury of Music."—HAWKINS's *Hist. of Music*. There are also some of his songs in one of Playford's "Collections."

books, to have the number set upon each, in order to my having an alphabet of my whole, which will be of great ease to me.

18th. I hear the ill news that poor Batters, that had been born and bred a seaman, and brought up his ship from sea but yesterday, was, going down from me to his ship, drowned in the Thames, which is a sad fortune, and do make me afraid, and will do, more than ever I was.

19th. Talked of the King's family with Mr. Hingston, the organist. He says many of the musique are ready to starve, they being five years behind-hand for their wages ; nay, Evens, the famous man upon the Harp, having not his equal in the world, did the other day die for mere want, and was fain to be buried at the almes of the parish, and carried to his grave in the dark at night without one linke, but that Mr. Hingston met it by chance, and did give 12*d.* to buy two or three links. Thence I up to the Lords' House to enquire for my Lord Bellassis ; and there hear how at a conference this morning between the two Houses about the business of the Canary Company, my Lord Buckingham leaning rudely over my Lord Marquis Dorchester,¹ my Lord Dorchester removed his elbow. Duke of Buckingham asked him if he was uneasy ; Dorchester replied, yes, and that he durst not do this were he any where else : Buckingham replied, yes he would, and that he was a better man than himself ; Dorchester said that he lyed. With this Buckingham struck off his hat, and took him by his periwigg, and pulled it aside, and held him. My Lord Chamberlain and others interposed, and, upon coming into the House, the Lords did order them both to the Tower, whither they are

¹ Henry Pierrepont, second Earl of Kingston, created Marquis of Dorchester, 1645. Ob. 1680. See an account of this quarrel in Lord Clarendon's "Life," vol. iii. p. 153, edit. 1827.

to go this afternoon. I down into the Hall, and there the Lieutenant of the Tower¹ took me with him, and would have me to the Tower to dinner; where I dined at the head of his table, next his lady,² who is comely and seeming sober and stately, but very proud and very cunning, or I am mistaken, and wanton, too. This day's work will bring the Lieutenant of the Tower 350*l*. Thence home, and upon Tower Hill saw about 3 or 400 seamen get together; and one, standing upon a pile of bricks, made his sign, with his handkercher, upon his stick, and called all the rest to him, and several shouts they gave. This made me afraid; so I got home as fast as I could. But by and by Sir W. Batten and Sir R. Ford do tell me, that the seamen have been at some prisons, to release some seamen, and the Duke of Albemarle is in armes, and all the Guards at the other end of the town; and the Duke of Albemarle is gone with some forces to Wapping, to quell the seamen; which is a thing of infinite disgrace to us. I sat long talking with them; and among other things, Sir R. Ford make me understand how the House of Commons is a beast not to be understood, it being impossible to know beforehand the success almost of any small plain thing, there being so many to think and speak to any business, and they of so uncertain minds and interests and passions. He did tell me, and so did Sir W. Batten, how Sir Allen Brodericke³ and Sir Allen

¹ Sir John Robinson.

² Anne, daughter of Sir George Whitmore.

³ Sir Alan Broderick died on the 28th November, 1680, and was interred at Wandsworth, on the 3rd December, when his funeral sermon was preached by Nathaniel Resbury, D.D., incumbent of the parish. The following extracts from the discourse, which, though printed, is very scarce, may throw some light on the knight's character, and, from their quaintness, are interesting. "In the first place, therefore, I might be very well allow'd to begin with that

Apsly¹ did come drunk the other day into the House, and did both speak for half an hour together, and could not be either laughed, or pulled, or bid to sit down and hold their peace, to the great contempt of the King's servants and cause; which I am grieved at with all my heart. We were full in discourse of the state of our times, and the horrid shame brought on the King's service by the just clamours of the poor seamen, and that we must be undone in a little time. Home full of trouble on these considerations, and, among other things, I to my chamber, and there to ticket a good part of my books, in order to the numbering of them for my easy finding them to read as I have occasion. So to supper and to bed, with my heart full of trouble.

usual head of panegyrick, where the subject could well bear it, viz., the quality of his birth and extract, and so give you his lineage in a long series of worthy and honourable ancestry, who from time immemorial had liv'd in the Registry of Honour in the Northern parts, till his own father, by the occasion of a noble trust, viz., the Lieutenancy of the Tower of London, came to add warmth to our Southern clime, and bless'd this place not only with his own and his religious Lady's presence and vertues (whose names and memories are still fragrant in those odours of goodness wherein they have been so plentifully scented in life), but with a numerous and valuable progeny, amongst whom was this wonder both of greatness and goodness I will readily acknowledge (and why, indeed, should I scruple to own what himself with such repeated contrition and brokenness of spirit would to all sober ears so freely and heartily condemn himself for?) that a long scene of his life had been acted off in the sports and follies of sin. If I may use his own words, it was a pagan and abandoned way he had sometime pursu'd, scepticism itself not excepted He had for many years practis'd in the politicks of this nation, and having so nearly attacht himself to one of the greatest Ministers of State [Lord Chancellor Clarendon] that this kingdom ever knew (whose mistaken wisdom and integrity perhaps hath been since better understood by the want of him), made himself no small figure in the administration." The Lords Middleton are descended from Sir St. John Broderick, a younger brother of Sir Alan.

¹ See 4th July, 1663.

20th. Home to dinner, where was Balty come, who is well again. Here dined with me also Mrs. Batters, poor woman! now left a sad widow by the drowning of her husband the other day. I pity her, and will do her what kindness I can; yet I observe something of ill-nature in myself more than should be, that I am colder towards her in my charity than I should be to one so painfull as he and she hath been and full of kindness to their power to my wife and I. After dinner out with Balty, setting him down at the Maypole,¹ in the Strand.

21st. I spent all the afternoon in putting some things, pictures especially, in order, and pasting my Lady Castlemaine's print on a frame, which I have made handsome, and is a fine piece. So to the office in the evening to marshall my papers of accounts presented to the Parliament, against any future occasion to recur to them, which I did do to my great content. So home and did some Tangier work, and to bed.

22nd. News from Hogg that our shipp hath brought in a Lubecker to Portsmouth, likely to prove prize, of deals, which joys us. After writing letters by the post, I with all my clerks to the ticket-office, there to be informed in the method and disorder of the office, which I find infinite great, of infinite concernment to be mended, and did spend till 12 at night to my great satisfaction, it being a point of our office I was wholly unacquainted with. So with great content home and to bed.

23rd. (Lord's day.) To church, where a vain fel-

¹ The Maypole stood somewhat to the east of the ancient Cross, opposite to Chester Inn, close to the site of the church of St. Mary-le-Strand. In 1717 it was begged by Sir Isaac Newton, and removed to Wanstead, where it was used in raising the largest telescope then known. See 1st June, 1663, note.

low with a periwigg preached, Chaplain, as by his prayer appeared, to the Earl of Carlisle.¹

24th. It being frost and dry, as far as Paul's, and so back again through the City by Guildhall, observing the ruins thereabouts, till I did truly lose myself. I this evening did buy me a pair of green spectacles, to see whether they will help my eyes or no. So to the 'Change, and went to the Upper 'Change, which is almost as good as the old one; only shops are but on one side. No newes yet of our Gottenburgh fleete; which makes us have some fears, it being of mighty concernment to have our supply of masts safe. I met with Mr. Cade to-night, my stationer; and he tells me that he hears for certain that the Queen-Mother is about and hath near finished a peace with France, which, as a Presbyterian, he do not like, but seems to fear it will be a means to introduce Popery.

25th. (Christmas day.) Lay pretty long in bed, and then rose, leaving my wife desirous to sleep, having sat up till four this morning seeing her mayds make mince-pies. I to church, where our parson Mills made a good sermon. Then home, and dined well on some good ribbs of beef roasted and mince pies; only my wife, brother, and Barker, and plenty of good wine of my owne, and my heart full of true joy; and thanks to God Almighty for the goodness of my condition at this day. After dinner, I begun to teach my wife and Barker my song, "It is decreed," which pleases me mightily as now I have Mr. Hinxton's base. Walked alone on foot to the Temple, thinking to have seen a play all alone; but there, missing of any bills, concluded there was none, and so back home; and there with my brother reducing the names of all my

¹ Charles Howard, created Earl of Carlisle, 1661, employed on several Embassies, and Governor of Jamaica. Ob. 1684.

books to an alphabet, and then to supper and to bed.

26th. To White Hall, to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and thence with him up to the Duke of York, where among other things at our meeting I did offer my assistance to Sir J. Minnes to do the business of his office, relating to the Pursers' accounts, which was well accepted by the Duke of York, and I think I have and shall do myself good in it, if it be taken, for it will confirm me in the Victualling Office, which I do now very little for. Thence home, carrying a barrel of oysters with me. Anon comes Mr. John Andrews and his wife to dine with me and young Batelier and his wife. Here was also Mercer and Creed, who tells me of a most bitter lampoone now out against the Court and the management of State from head to foot, mighty witty and mighty severe. After dinner I put the women into a coach and they to the Duke's house, to a play. It was indifferently done, Gosnell not singing, but a new wench, that sings naughtily. Thence home, and there Mr. Andrews to the vvall, who plays most excellently on it. Thence to dance, here being Pembleton come, by my wife's direction, and a fiddler; and we got, also, the elder Batelier to-night, and Nan Wright, and mighty merry we were, and danced; and so till twelve at night, and to supper, and then to cross purposes, mighty merry, and then to bed.

27th. Up; and called up by the King's trumpets, which cost me 10s. So to the office. At noon, by invitation, my wife, who had not been there these 10 months, I think, and I, to meet all our families at Sir W. Batten's at dinner, where neither a great dinner for so much company nor anything good or handsome. In the middle of dinner I rose, and by coach to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The

Scornful Lady" well acted; Doll Common¹ doing Abigail most excellently, and Knipp the widow very well, and will be an excellent actor, I think. In other parts the play not so well done as need be, by the old actors. This day a house or two was blown up with powder in the Minorys, and several people spoiled, and many dug out from under the rubbish.

28th. I to my Lord Crew's, where I find and hear the newes how my Lord's brother, Mr. Nathaniel Crew, hath an estate of 6 or 700*l.* per annum, left him by the death of an old acquaintance of his, but not akin to him at all. And this man is dead without will, but had, about ten years since, made over his estate to this Mr. Crew, to him and his heirs for ever, and given Mr. Crew the keeping of the deeds in his own hand all this time; by which, if he would, he might have taken present possession of the estate, for he knew what they were. This is as great an act of confident friendship as this latter age, I believe, can show. From hence to the Duke's house, and there saw "Macbeth" most excellently acted, and a most excellent play for variety. I had sent for my wife to meet me there, who did come, and after the play was done, I out so soon to meet her at the other door that I left my cloake in the play house, and while I returned to get it, she was gone out and missed me. I not sorry for it much did go to White Hall, and got my Lord Bellassis to get me into the playhouse; and there, after all staying above an hour for the players, the King and all waiting, which was absurd, saw "Henry the Fifth" well done by the Duke's people, and in most excellent habits, all new vests, being put on but this night. But I sat so high and far off, that I missed most of the words, and sat with a wind coming into my back and neck, which did much

¹ Mrs. Corey. See 15th Jan., 1668-9.

trouble me. The play continued till twelve at night ; and then up, and a most horrid cold night it was, and frosty, and moonshine.

29th. Called up with newes from Sir W. Batten that Hogg hath brought in two prizes more : and so I thither, and hear the particulars, which are good ; one of them, if prize, being worth 4000*l*. : for which God be thanked ! Then to the office, and have the newes brought us of Captain Robinson's coming with his fleete from Gottenburgh : dispersed, though, by foul weather. But he hath light of five Dutch men-of-war, and taken three, whereof one is sunk ; which is very good newes to close up the year with, and most of our merchant-men already heard of to be safely come home, though after long lookings-for, and now to several ports, as they could make them.

30th. (Lord's day.) To church. Here was a collection for the sexton ; but it came into my head why we should be more bold in making the collection while the psalm is singing, than in the sermon or prayer.

31st. Rising this day with a full design to mind nothing else but to make up my accounts for the year past, I did take money, and walked forth to several places in the towne as far as the New Exchange, to pay all my debts, and so going back I met Doll Lane, with another young woman of the Hall, and took them to the Half Moon Taverne and there drank some burnt wine with them, and so away home to dinner, and then to my accounts, wherein, at last, I find them clear and right ; but, to my great discontent, do find that my gettings this year have been 573*l*. less than my last : it being this year in all but 2,986*l*. ; whereas, the last, I got 3,560*l*. And then again my spendings this year have exceeded my spendings the last by 644*l*. : my whole spendings

last year being but 509*l.*; whereas this year, it appears, I have spent 1,154*l.*, which is a sum not fit to be said that ever I should spend in one year, before I am master of a better estate than I am. Yet, blessed be God! and I pray God make me thankful for it, I do find myself worth in money, all good, above 6,200*l.*; which is above 1,800*l.* more than I was the last year. This, I trust in God, will make me thankfull for what I have, and carefull to make up by care next year what by my negligence and prodigality I have lost and spent this year. Thus ends this year of publick wonder and mischief to this nation, and, therefore, generally wished by all people to have an end. Myself and family well, having four mayds and one clerk, Tom, in my house, and my brother, now with me, to spend time in order to his preferment. Our healths all well, publick matters in a most sad condition; seamen discouraged for want of pay, and are become not to be governed: nor, as matters are now, can any fleete go out next year. Our enemies, French and Dutch, great, and grow more by our poverty. The Parliament backward in raising, because jealous of the spending of the money; the City less and less likely to be built again, every body settling elsewhere, and nobody encouraged to trade. A sad, vicious, negligent Court, and all sober men there fearful of the ruin of the whole kingdom this next year; from which, good God deliver us! One thing I reckon remarkable in my owne condition is, that I am come to abound in good plate, so as at all entertainments to be served wholly with silver plates, having two dozen and a half.

1666-7.

January 1st. Lay long, being a bitter, cold, frosty day, the frost being now grown old, and the Thames covered with ice.

2nd. My wife up, and with Mrs. Pen to walk in the fields to frost-bite themselves. I found the Court full of great apprehensions of the French, who have certainly shipped landsmen, great numbers, at Brest; and most of our people here guess his design for Ireland. We have orders to send all the ships we can possible to the Downes. God have mercy on us! for we can send forth no ships without men, nor will men go without money, every day bringing us news of new mutinies among the seamen; so that our condition is like to be very miserable. Thence to Westminster Hall, and there met all the Houblons, who did laugh at this discourse of the French, and say they are verily of opinion it is nothing but to send to their plantation in the West Indys, and that we at Court do blow up a design of invading us, only to make the Parliament make more haste in the money matters, and perhaps it may be so, but I do not believe we have any such plot in our heads. After them, I, with several people, among others Mr. George Montagu, who tells me of the King displeasing the House of Commons by evading their Bill for examining Accounts, and putting it into a Commission, though therein he hath left out Coventry and ———¹, and named all the rest the Parliament named, and all country Lords, not one Courtier: this do not please them. He finds the enmity almost over for my Lord Sandwich. Up to the Painted Chamber, and there heard a conference between the House of Lords and Commons about the Wine Patent; which I was exceeding glad to be at, because of my hearing exceeding good discourses, but especially from the Commons; among others, Mr. Swinfen,² and a young man, one Sir Thomas Meres:³ and do outdo the Lords infinitely. Alone to the

¹ A blank in the MS.

² See 10th November, 1662.

³ M.P. for Lincoln, made a Commissioner of the Admiralty, 1679.

King's House, and there saw "The Custom of the Country,"¹ the second time of its being acted, wherein Knipp does the Widow well; but, of all the plays that ever I did see, the worst—having neither plot, language, nor anything in the earth that is acceptable; only Knipp sings a little song admirably.

3rd. By invitation to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, where my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Batten, and his lady, myself, and wife, Sir J. Minnes, and Mr. Turner. Indifferent merry, to which I contributed the most, but a mean dinner, and in a mean manner. In the evening a little to the office, and then to them, where I found them at cards, and late home to bed, not much pleased with the manner of our entertainment, though to myself more civil than to any. This day, I hear, hath been a conference between the two Houses about the Bill for examining Accounts, wherein the House of Lords their proceedings in petitioning the King for doing it by Commission are, in great heat, voted by the Commons, after the conference, unparliamentary.

4th. To the office awhile, and about noon home and saw all things in good order. Anon comes our company to dinner; my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Pen, his lady, and Pegg, and her servant, Mr. Lowther,² my Lady Batten, Mr. Turner and his wife. Here I had good room for ten, and no more would my table have held well, had Sir J. Minnes, who had fallen lame, and his sister, and niece, and Sir W. Batten come, which was a great content to me to be without them. I did make them all gaze to see themselves served so nobly in plate, and a neat dinner,

¹ A play by Beaumont and Fletcher, founded on an old feudal custom, to which there is no need to allude more particularly. See Evelyn's character of it, and of its grossness.

² See 11th January, 1666.

indeed, though but of seven dishes. My Lady Batten home, her ague-fit coming on her at table. At night to sup, and then to cards; and, last of all, to have a flaggon of ale and apples, drunk out of a wood cup,¹ as a Christmas draught, which made all merry; and they full of admiration at my plate, particularly my flaggons, which, indeed, are noble, and so late home, all with great mirth and satisfaction to them, as I thought, and to myself to see all I have and do so much outdo for neatness and plenty anything done by any of them. They gone, I to bed, much pleased, and do observe Mr. Lowther to be a pretty gentleman, too good for Peg. Sir W. Pen was much troubled to hear the song I sung, "The New Droll"²—it touching him home.

5th. At the office all the morning, thinking at noon to have been taken home, and my wife, according to appointment yesterday, by my Lord Brouncker, to dinner and then to a play, but he had forgot it, at which I was glad, being glad of avoyding the occasion of inviting him again, and being forced to invite his doxy, Mrs. Williams. So home, and took a small snap of victuals, and away, with my wife, to the Duke's house, and there saw "Mustapha," a most excellent play for words and design as ever I did see. I had seen it before but forgot it, so it was wholly new to me, which is the pleasure of my not committing these things to my memory.

6th. (Lord's day.) To church, where a dull doctor, a stranger, made a dull sermon. Young Michell

¹ A mazer cup, generally of wood, of a quadrangular form, with a handle on each of the sides. See a curious note on mazers, used as large drinking cups or goblets, in Sir Walter Scott's "Poetical Works," p. 488, edit. 1848.

² There is a song called "The New Droll," in a scarce volume, entitled "The Loyal Garland," printed for T. Passinger, at the Three Bibles, on London Bridge, 1686: see "Fugitive Tracts," published by the Percy Society, in 1849.

and I, it being an excellent frosty day, did walk out. He showed me the baker's house in Pudding Lane, where the late great fire begun; and thence all along Thames Street, where I did view several places, and so up by London Wall, by Blackfriars, to Ludgate; and thence to Bridewell, which I find to have been heretofore an extraordinary good house, and a fine coming to it, before the house by the bridge was built; and so to look about St. Bride's church and my father's house, and so walked home.

7th. Lord Brouncker tells me that my Lady Denham is at last dead. Some suspect her poisoned, but it will be best known when her body is opened to-day, she dying yesterday morning. The Duke of York is troubled for her; but hath declared he will never have another public mistress again; which I shall be glad of, and would the King would do the like. He tells me how the Parliament is grown so jealous of the King's being unfayre to them in the business of the Bill for examining Accounts, Irish Bill, and the business of the Papists, that they will not pass the business for money till they see themselves secure that those Bills will pass; which they do observe the Court to keep off till all the Bills come together, that the King may accept what he pleases, and what he pleases to reject. He tells me how Mr. Henry Howard, of Norfolk, hath given¹ our Royal Society all his grandfather's library:² which noble gift they

¹ At Evelyn's suggestion.

² Thomas, Earl of Arundel. Mr. Howard gave the Society all the printed books: but the MSS. he divided between the Society and the College of Arms. Of the latter portion a catalogue has been privately printed by Sir Charles George Young, the present Garter King of Arms. In the year 1831, an arrangement was made between the Trustees of the British Museum and the Royal Society, the consent of the late Duke of Norfolk having been obtained, by which the Society's portion of the MSS. was transferred to the Museum, where they are now preserved for public

value at 1000*l.*; and gives them accommodation to meet in at his house, Arundell House, they being now disturbed at Gresham College. To the Duke's house, and saw "*Macbeth*," which, though I saw it lately, yet appears a most excellent play in all respects, but especially in divertisement, though it be a deep tragedy; which is a strange perfection in a tragedy, it being most proper here, and suitable. So home, it being the last play now I am to see till a fortnight hence, I being from the last night entered into my vows for the year coming on. Here I met with the good newes of Hogg's bringing in two prizes more to Plymouth, which if they prove but any part of them, I hope, at least, we shall be no losers by them. So home from the office, to write over fair my vows for this year, and then to supper, and to bed. In great peace of mind having now done it, and brought myself into order again and a resolution of keeping it, and having entered my journall to this night.

8th. My uncle Thomas with me to receive his quarterage. He tells me his son Thomas is set up in Smithfield, where he hath a shop—I suppose, a booth. Saw the catalogue of my books, which my brother hath wrote out, now perfectly alphabeticall.

9th. In a hackney-coach to White Hall, the way being most horribly bad upon the breaking up of the frost, so as not to be passed almost. I do hear, by my Lord Brouncker, that for certain Sir W. Coventry hath resigned his place of Commissioner; which I believe he hath done upon good grounds of security to himself, from all the blame which must attend our office this next year; but I fear the King

use, and known as the Arundel MSS. A very full catalogue of them has been published by the Trustees. This arrangement enabled the Royal Society to add materially to the scientific part of their library.

will suffer by it. Thence to Westminster Hall, and there to the conference of the Houses about the word "Nuisance,"¹ which the Commons would have, and the Lords will not, in the Irish Bill. The Commons do it professedly to prevent the King's dispensing with it; which Sir Robert Howard and others did expressly repeat often: viz., "that no King ever could do any thing which was hurtful to his people." Now the Lords did argue, that it was an ill precedent, and that which will ever hereafter be used as a way of preventing the King's dispensation with acts; and therefore rather advise to pass the Bill without that word, and let it go, accompanied with a petition, to the King, that he will not dispense with it; this being a more civil way to the King. They answered well, that this do imply that the King should pass their Bill, and yet with design to dispense with it; which is to suppose the King guilty of abusing them. And more, they produce precedents for it; namely, that against new buildings and about leather, wherein the word "Nuisance" is used to the purpose: and further, that they do not rob the King of any right he ever had, for he never had a power to do hurt to his people, nor would exercise it; and therefore there is no danger, in the passing this Bill, of imposing on his prerogative; and concluded, that they think they ought to do this, so as the people may really have the benefit of it when it is passed, for never any people could expect so reasonably to be indulged something from a King, they having already given him so much money, and are likely to give more. Thus they broke up, both

¹ In the "Bill against importing Cattle from Ireland and other parts beyond the Seas," the Lords proposed to insert "Detriment and Mischief" instead of "Nuisance." The Lords finally consented that the latter word should stand in the Bill.—*Commons' Journals*.

adhering to their opinions ; but the Commons seemed much more full of judgment and reason than the Lords. Then the Commons made their Report to the Lords of their vote, that their Lordships' proceedings in the Bill for examining Accounts were unparliamentary ; they having, while a Bill was sent up to them from the Commons about the business, petitioned his Majesty that he would do the same thing by his Commission. They did give their reasons : viz., that it had no precedent ; that the King ought not to be informed of anything passing in the Houses till it comes to a Bill ; that it will wholly break off all correspondence between the two Houses, and in the issue wholly infringe the very use and being of Parliaments. Thence to Faythorne, and bought a head or two ; one of them my Lord of Ormond's, the best I ever saw. To Arundell House, where first the Royal Society meet, by the favour of Mr. Harry Howard, who was there. And here was a great meeting of worthy noble persons ; but my Lord Brouncker, who pretended to make a congratulatory speech upon their coming thither, and great thanks to Mr. Howard, did do it in the worst manner in the world.

11th. Sir W. Warren told me, how my Lord Brouncker should take notice of the two flaggons¹ he saw at my house at dinner, at my late feast, and merrily, yet I know enviously, said, I could not come honestly by them. This I am glad to hear, though vexed to see his ignoble soul, but I shall beware of him, and yet it is fit he should see I am no mean fellow, but can live in the world, and have something.

14th. Busy till night, pleasing myself mightily to see what a deal of business goes off a man's hands

¹ Presented by Mr. Gauden : see 28th July, 1664.



when he stays by it. Sir W. Batten tells me, the Lords do agree at last with the Commons about the word "Nuisance" in the Irish Bill, and do desire a good correspondence between the two Houses : and that the King do intend to prorogue them the last of this month.

15th. This afternoon, Knipp acts Mrs. Weaver's great part in "The Indian Emperour,"¹ and is coming on to be a great actor. But I am so fell to my business, that I, though against my inclination, will not go.

16th. Sir W. Coventry came to me aside in the Duke's chamber, to tell that he had not answered part of a late letter of mine, because *littera scripta manet*. About his leaving the office, he tells me, it is because he finds that his business at Court will not permit him to attend it; and then he confesses that he seldom of late could come from it with satisfaction, and therefore would not take the King's money for nothing. I professed my sorrow for it, and prayed the continuance of his favour; which he promised. I do believe he hath done like a very wise man in reference to himself; but I doubt it will prove ill for the King, and for the office. Prince Rupert, I hear, is very ill; yesterday given over, but better to-day. This day, before the Duke of York, the business of the Muster-Masters was reported, and Balty found the best of the whole number, so as the Duke enquired who he was, and whether he was a stranger by his two names, both strange, and offered that he and one more, who has done next best, should have not only their owne, but part of the others' salary, but that I having said he was my brother-in-law, he did stop, but they two are ordered their pay, which I am glad of, and some of

¹ "The Indian Emperor," by J. Dryden, intended as a sequel to "The Indian Queen."

the rest will lose their pay, and others be laid by the heels. I am glad of this being ended so well. I did also, this morning, move in a business wherein Mr. Hater has concerned me, about getting a ship, laden with salt from France, permitted to unload, coming in after the King's declaration was out, which I have hopes by some dexterity to get done. Then with the Duke of York to the King, to receive his commands for stopping the sale this day of some prize-goods at the Prize-Office, fit for the Navy; and received the King's commands, and carried them to the Lords' House, to my Lord Ashly, who was angry much thereat, and I am sorry it fell to me to carry the order. So, against his will, he signed a note I writ to the Commissioners of Prizes, which I carried and delivered to Kingdone, at their new office in Aldersgate Streete. Sir Stephen Fox, among other things, told me his whole mystery in the business of the interest he pays as Treasurer for the Army. They give him 12*d.* per pound quite through the Army, with condition to be paid weekly. This he undertakes upon his own private credit, and to be paid by the King at the end of every four months. If the King pay him not at the end of the four months, then, for all the time he stays longer, my Lord Treasurer, by agreement, allows him eight per cent. per annum for the forbearance. So that, in fine, he hath about twelve per cent. from the King and the Army, for fifteen or sixteen months' interest; out of which he gains soundly, his expense being about 130,000*l.* per annum; and hath no trouble in it, compared, as I told him, to the trouble I must have to bring in an account of interest. I was, however, glad of being thus enlightened, and so away to the other council door, and then got in and hear a piece of a cause, heard before the King, about a ship deserted by her fellows, who were bound

mutually to defend each other, in their way to Virginy, and taken by the enemy, but it was but meanly pleaded. After supper, my wife told me how she had moved to W. Hewer the business of my sister for a wife to him, which he received with mighty acknowledgements, as she says, above anything; but says he hath no intention to alter his condition: so that I am in some measure sorry she ever moved it; but I hope he will think it only came from her. Talk there is of a letter to come from Holland, desiring a place of treaty; but I do doubt it. This day I observe still, in many places, the smoking remains of the late fire: the ways mighty bad and dirty. This night Sir R. Ford told me how this day, at Christ Church Hospital, they have given a living over 200*l.* per annum to Mr. Sanchy, my old acquaintance, which I wonder at, he commending him mightily; but am glad of it. He tells me, too, how the famous Stillingfleete¹ was a Blue-coat boy.

18th. This morning came Captain Cocke to me, and tells me that the King comes to the House this day to pass the Poll Bill and the Irish Bill; and that, though the Faction is very froward in the House, yet all will end well there. But he says that one had got a Bill ready to present in the House against Sir W. Coventry, for selling of places, and says he is certain of it, and how he was withheld from doing it. He says, that the Vice-chamberlaine is now one of the greatest men in England again, and was he that did prevail with the King to let the Irish Bill go with the word "Nuisance." He told me, that Sir G. Carteret's declaration of giving double to any man that will prove that any of his people have demanded or taken any thing for for-

¹ See 16th April, 1665.

warding the payment of the wages of any man, of which he sent us a copy yesterday, which we approved of, is set up, among other places, upon the House of Lords' door. I do not know how wisely this is done. This morning, also, there come to the office a letter from the Duke of York, commanding our payment of no wages to any of the muster-masters of the fleete the last year, but only two, my brother Balty, taking notice that he had taken pains therein, and one Ward, who, though he had not taken so much as the other, yet had done more than the rest. At night I, by appointment, home, where W. Batelier and his sister Mary, and the two Mercers, to play at cards and sup, and did cut our great cake lately given us by Russell : a very good one. Here very merry late. Sir W. Pen told me this night how the King did make them a very sharp speech in the House of Lords to-day, saying that he did expect to have had more Bills ; that he purposes to prorogue them on Monday come se'nnight ; that whereas they have unjustly conceived some jealousys of his making a peace, he declares he knows of no such thing or treaty : and so left them. But with so little effect, that as soon as he came into the House, Sir W. Coventry moved, that now the King hath declared his intention of proroguing them, it would be loss of time to go on with the thing they were upon, when they were called to the King, which was the calling over the defaults of Members appearing in the House ; for that, before any person could now come or be brought to town, the House would be up. Yet the Faction did desire to delay time, and contend so as to come to a division of the House ; where, however, it was carried, by a few voices, that the debate should be laid by. But this shows that they are not pleased, or that they have not any awe over them from the King's displeasure.

19th. Sir W. Batten tells me to my wonder that at his coming to my Lord Ashly, yesterday morning, to tell him what prize-goods he would have saved for the Navy, and not sold, according to the King's order on the 17th, he fell quite out with him in high terms; and he says, too, that they did go on with the sale yesterday, even of the very hempe, and other things, at which I am astonished, and will never wonder at the ruine of the King's affairs, if this be suffered.

20th. (Lord's day.) I was sorry to hear of the heat the House was in yesterday about the ill management of the Navy; though I think they were well answered, both by Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry, as he informs me of the substance of their speeches. I to church, and there, beyond expectation, find our seat, and all the church crammed, by twice as many people, as used to be: and to my great joy find Mr. Frampton¹ in the pulpit; and I think the best sermon, for goodness and oratory, without affectation or study, that ever I heard in my life. The truth is, he preaches the most like an apostle that ever I heard man; and it was much the best time that I ever spent in my life at church. His text, Ecclesiastes xi., verse 8th—"But if a man live many years, and rejoice in them all, yet let him remember the days of darkness, for they shall be many. All that cometh is vanity." To White Hall, and there walked in the Parke, and a little to my Lord Chancellor's, where the King and Cabinet met, and there met Mr. Brisband, with whom good discourse, and there he did lend me "The Third Advice to a Paynter," a bitter satyre upon the service of the Duke of Albemarle the last year.² I took it home

¹ See *ante*, 10th October, 1666.

² Sir John Denham's name is put to these poems, but they were

with me, and will copy it, having the former, being also mightily pleased with it.

21st. To the Swede's Resident's¹ in the Piazza, to discourse with him about two of our prizes, wherein he put in his concernment as for his countrymen. We had no satisfaction, nor did give him any, but I find him a cunning fellow. He lives in one of the great houses there, but ill-furnished; and came to us out of bed in his furred mittens and furred cap. Thence to Exeter House to the Doctors Commons, and there with our Proctors to Dr. Walker, who did hear our matters, and after a dull seeming hearing of them read, did discourse most understandingly of them, as well as ever I heard man, telling us all our grounds of pretence to the prize would do no good, which troubled us, but I was mightily taken to hear his manner of discourse. Thence up to the Lords' House, and there came mighty seasonably to hear the Solicitor about my Lord Buckingham's pretence to the title of Lord Rosse.² Mr. Attorney Montagu is also a good man, and so is old Sir P. Ball;³ but the Soli-

supposed to have been written by Andrew Marvel. The printer, being discovered, was sentenced to the pillory.

¹ Sir James Barkman Leyenburg, many years the Swedish Resident in this country. He is the person mentioned in the note to Nov. 26, 1660, as having in 1671 married the widow of Sir W. Batten.

² The ancient barony of De Ros, created by writ in 1264, was carried, with Belvoir Castle and other great possessions, into the family of Manners, by the marriage of Eleanor, sister and heir of Edmund Lord de Ros (who died in 1508), to Sir Robert Manners. Katharine, only daughter and heir of Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, married, first, George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and, secondly, Randal Macdonnal, Marquis of Antrim. On her death, the barony of De Ros was claimed by her son, the second Duke of Buckingham. He died without issue in 1687, and the barony remained in abeyance until the year 1806, when it was determined by the Crown in favour of Lady Henry Fitzgerald, the mother of the late and the present Lords de Ros.

³ Sir Peter Ball, the Queen's Attorney-General.

citor¹ and Scroggs² after him are excellent men. At home find Lovett, to whom I did give my Lady Castlemayne's head to do. He is talking of going into Spayne to get money by his art, but I doubt he will do no good, he being a man of an unsettled head. Thence by water to Deptford, and there did some little business and walked home, and there came into my company three drunken seamen, but one especially, who told me such stories, calling me Captain, as made me mighty merry, and they would leap and skip, and kiss what mayds they met all the way. I did at first give them money to drink, lest they should know who I was, and so become troublesome to me. Parted at Redriffe and there home and to the office, where did much business, and then to Sir W. Batten's, where Sir W. Pen, Sir R. Ford, and I to hear a proposition Sir R. Ford was to acquaint us with from the Swedes Ambassador, in manner of saying, that for money he might be got to our side and relinquish the trouble he might give us. Sir W. Pen did make a long simple declaration of his resolution to give nothing to deceive any poor man of what was his right by law, but ended by doing whatever any body else would, and we did commission Sir R. Ford to give promise of not beyond 350*l.* to him and his Secretary, in case they did not oppose us in the Phoenix (the net profits of which, as Sir R. Ford cast up before us, the Admiral's tenths, and ship's thirds, and other charges all cleared, will amount to 3000*l.*) and that we did gain her. Sir R. Ford did pray for a curse upon his family, if he was privy to anything more than he told us (which I believe he is a knave in), yet we all concluded him the most fit man for it and very honest, and so left it

¹ Sir Edward Turner.

² Sir William Scroggs, King's Serjeant, 1669 ; afterwards Chief-Justice of the King's Bench.

wholly to him to manage as he pleased. So home, where W. Hewer's mother was, and supped with us. His mother a well favoured old little woman and a good woman, I believe. This night, at supper, comes from Sir W. Coventry the Order of Council¹ for my Lord Brouncker to do all the Comptroller's part relating to the Treasurer's accounts, and Sir W. Pen, all relating to the Victualler's, and Sir J. Minnes to do the rest. This, I hope, will do much better for the King, and, I think, will give neither of them ground to over-top me, as I feared they would; which pleases me mightily. This evening, Mr. Wren and Captain Cocke called upon me at the office, and there told me how the House was in better temper to-day, and hath passed the Bill for the remainder of the money, but not to be passed finally till they have done some other things which they will have passed with it; wherein they are very open, what their meaning is, which was but doubted before, for they do in all respects doubt the King's pleasing them.

22nd. Up, and there came to me Darnell the fiddler, one of the Duke's house, and brought me a set of lessons, all three parts, I heard them play to the Duke of York this Christmas at his lodgings, and bid him get me them. I did give him a crowne for them, and did enquire after the musique of the "Siege of Rhodes," which, he tells me, he can get me, which I am mighty glad of. So to the office, where among other things I read the Council's order about my Lord Brouncker and Sir W. Pen to be assistants to the Comptroller, which quietly went down with Sir J. Minnes, poor man, he seeming a little as if he would be thought to have desired it, but yet apparently to his discontent; and, I fear, as the order

¹ Dated 16th January, 1666-7, and printed in "Memoirs relating to the Conduct of the Navy," 8vo. 1729, p. 59.

runs, it will hardly do much good. At noon to dinner, and there comes a letter from Mrs. Pierce, telling me she will come and dine with us on Thursday next, with some of the players, Knipp, &c., which I was glad of, but my wife vexed, which vexed me; but I seemed merry, but know not how to order the matter, whether they shall come or no.

23rd. To St. James's, to see the organ Mrs. Turner told me of the other night, of my late Lord Aubigney's; and I took my Lord Brouncker with me, he being acquainted with my present Lord Almoner, Mr. Howard,¹ brother to the Duke of Norfolk; so he and I did see the organ, but I do not like it, it being but a bauble, with a virginal joining to it: so I shall not meddle with it. The Almoner seems a good-natured gentleman: here I observed the deske which he hath, [made] to remove, and is fastened to one of the armes of his chayre. I do also observe the counterfeit windows there was, in the form of doors with looking-glasses instead of windows, which makes the room seem both bigger and lighter, I think; and I have some thoughts to have the like in one of my rooms. He discoursed much of the goodness of the musique in Rome, but could not tell me how long musique had been in any perfection in that church, which I would be glad to know. He speaks much of the great buildings that this Pope,² whom, in mirth to us, he calls Antichrist, hath done in his time. Away, and my Lord and I walking into the Park, I did observe the new buildings: and my Lord, seeing I had a desire to see them, they being the place for the

¹ Philip Howard, Lord Almoner to Queen Catherine, and third son of Henry Howard, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1652. He was made a Cardinal by Clement X. in 1675, and died at Rome in 1694. He was generally styled the Cardinal of Norfolk.

² Alexander VII., by name Fabio Chigi.

priests and fryers, he took me back to my Lord Almoner; and he took us quite through the whole house and chapel, and the new monastery, showing me most excellent pieces in wax-worke: a crucifix given by a Pope to Mary Queen of Scotts, where a piece of the Cross is;¹ two bits set in the manner of a cross in the foot of the crucifix: several fine pictures, but especially very good prints of holy pictures. I saw the dortoire² and the cells of the priests, and we went into one; a very pretty little room, very clean, hung with pictures, set with books. The Priest was

¹ Pieces of "the Cross" were formerly held in such veneration, and were so common, that it has been often said enough existed to build a ship. Most readers will remember the distinction which Sir W. Scott represents Louis XI. (with great appreciation of that monarch's character), as drawing between an oath taken on a false piece and one taken on a piece of the *true* cross. Sir Thomas More, a very devout believer in relics, says ("Works," p. 119), that "Luther wished, in a sermon of his, that he had in his hand all the pieces of the Holy Cross; and said that if he so had, he would throw them there as never sun should shine on them:—and for what worshipful reason would the wretch do such villany to the cross of Christ? Because, as he saith, that there is so much gold now bestowed about the garnishing of the pieces of the Cross, that there is none left for poore folke. Is not this a high reason? As though all the gold that is now bestowed about the pieces of the Holy Cross would not have failed to have been given to poor men, if they had not been bestowed about the garnishing of the Cross! and as though there were nothing lost, but what is bestowed about Christ's Cross!" Wolsey, says Cavendish, on his fall, gave to Norris, who brought him a ring of gold as a token of good will from Henry, "a little chaine of gold, made like a bottle chain, with a cross of gold, wherein was a piece of the Holy Cross, which he continually wore about his neck, next his body; and said, furthermore, 'Master Norris, I assure you, when I was in prosperity, although it seem but small in value, yet I would not gladly have departed with the same for a thousand pounds.'"—*Life*, ed. 1852, p. 167. Evelyn mentions, "Diary," 17th November, 1664, that he saw in one of the chapels in St. Peter's a crucifix with a piece of the true cross in it. Amongst the jewels of Mary Queen of Scots was a cross of gold, which had been pledged to Hume of Blackadder for 1000*l*.—CHALMERS'S *Life*, vol. i. p. 31.

² Dormitory.

in his cell, with his hair clothes to his skin, bare-legged, with a sandall only on, and his little bed without sheets, and no feather bed; but yet, I thought, soft enough. His cord about his middle; but in so good company, living with ease, I thought it a very good life. A pretty library they have. And I was in the refectoire, where every man his napkin, knife, cup of earth, and basin of the same; and a place for one to sit and read while the rest are at meals. And into the kitchen I went, where a good neck of mutton at the fire, and other victuals boiling. I do not think they fared very hard. Their windows all looking into a fine garden and the Park; and mighty pretty rooms all. I wished myself one of the Capuchins. So away with the Almoner in his coach, talking merrily about the difference in our religions, to White Hall, and there we left him. To take up my wife and Mercer, and to Temple Bar to the Ordinary, and had a dish of meat for them, they having not dined, and thence to the King's house, and there saw "The Humorous Lieutenant:" a silly play I think; only the Spirit in it that grows very tall, and then sinks again to nothing, having two heads breeding upon one, and then Knipp's singing, did please us. Here, in a box above, we spied Mrs. Pierce; and, going out, they called us, and so we staid for them; and Knipp took us all in, and brought to us Nelly,¹ a most pretty woman, who acted the great part of Cœlia to-day very fine, and did it pretty well: I kissed her, and so did my wife; and a mighty pretty soul she is. We also saw Mrs. Hall,² which is my little Roman-nose black girl, that is mighty pretty: she is usually called Betty. Knipp made us stay in a box and see the dancing preparatory to to-morrow

¹ Nell Gwynn.

² Betty Hall. She was Sir Philip Howard's mistress. Compare 30th March, 1667, and 19th December, 1668.

for "The Goblins," a play of Suckling's,¹ not acted these twenty-five years; which was pretty; and so away thence, pleased with this sight also, and specially kissing of Nell. In our way home, we find the Guards of horse in the street, and hear the occasion to be news that the seamen are in a mutiny; which put me into a great fright; and, when I come home, I hear of no disturbance there of the seamen, but that one of them, being arrested to-day, others do go and rescue him.

24th. At the office, we were frightened with news of fire at Sir W. Batten's by a chimney taking fire, and it put me into much fear and trouble, but with a great many hands and pains it was soon stopped. I home, where most of my company come of this end of the town—Mercer and her sister, Mr. Batelier and Pembleton, my Lady Pen, and Pegg, and Mr. Lowther, but did not stay long, and I believe it was by Sir W. Pen's order; for they had a great mind to have staid, and also Captain Rolt. And, anon, at about seven or eight o'clock, comes Mr. Harris, of the Duke's playhouse, and brings Mrs. Pierce with him, and also one dressed like a country-mayde with a straw hat on; and, at first, I could not tell who it was, though I expected Knipp: but it was she coming off the stage just as she acted this day in "The Goblins;" a merry jade. Now my house is full, and four fiddlers that play well. Harris I first took to my closet; and I find him a very curious and understanding person in all pictures and other things, and a man of fine conversation; and so is Rolt. So away with all my company down to the office, and there fell to dancing, and continued at it an hour or two, there coming Mrs. Anne Jones, a merchant's daughter hard by, who dances well, and all in mighty good humour, and danced with great

¹ Sir John Suckling, the poet.

pleasure ; and then sung and then danced, and then sung many things of three voices—both Harris and Rolt singing their parts excellently. Among other things, Harris sung his Irish song—the strangest in itself, and the prettiest sung by him, that ever I heard. Then to supper in the office, a cold, good supper, and wondrous merry. Here was Mrs. Turner, also, and Mrs. Markham : after supper to dancing again and singing, and so continued till almost three in the morning, and then, with extraordinary pleasure, broke up—only towards morning, Knipp fell a little ill, and so my wife home with her to put her to bed, and we continued dancing and singing ; and, among other things, our Mercer unexpectedly did happen to sing an Italian song I know not, of which they two sung the other two parts too, that did almost ravish me, and made me in love with her more than ever with her singing. As late as it was, yet Rolt and Harris would go home to-night, and walked it, though I had a bed for them ; and it proved dark, and a misly night, and very windy. The company being all gone to their homes, I up with Mrs. Pierce to Knipp, who was in bed ; and we waked her, and sung a song, and then left my wife to see Mrs. Pierce in bed to her, in our best chamber, and so to bed myself, my mind mightily satisfied with all this evening's work, and thinking it to be one of the merriest enjoyments I must look for in the world, and did content myself therefore with the thoughts of it, and so to bed ; only the musique did not please me, they not being contented with less than 30s.

25th. This afternoon I saw the Poll Bill, now printed ; wherein I do fear I shall be very deeply concerned, being to be taxed for all my offices, and then for my money that I have, and my title, as well as my head. It is a very great tax ; but yet I do think it is so perplexed, it will hardly ever be col-

lected duly. The late invention of Sir G. Downing's is continued of bringing all the money into the Exchequer; and Sir G. Carteret's three pence is turned for all the money of this act into but a penny per pound, which I am sorry for. This day the House hath passed the Bill for the Assessment, which I am glad of; and also our little Bill, for giving any of us in the office the power of justice of peace, is done as I would have it.

27th. (Lord's day.) To Sir Philip Warwick, by appointment, to meet Lord Bellassis, and up to his chamber, but find him unwilling to discourse of business on Sundays: so did not enlarge. Went down and sat in a low room, reading "*Erasmus de scribendis epistolis*," a very good book, especially one letter of advice to a courtier most true and good, which made me once resolve to tear out the two leaves that it was writ in, but I forbore it. Roger Pepys and I to walk in the Pell Mell. I find by him that the House of Parliament continues full of ill humours; and do say how, in their late Poll Bill, which cost so much time, the yeomanry, and indeed two-thirds of the nation, are left out to be taxed, that there is not effectual provision enough made for collection of the money: and then, that after a man his goods are distrained and sold, and the overplus returned, I am to have ten days to make my complaints of being over-rated if there be cause, when my goods are sold, and that is too late. These things they are resolved to look into again, and mend them before they rise, which they expect at furthest on Thursday next. Here we met with Mr. May,¹ and he and we to talk of several things, of building, and such like matters. Walked to White Hall, and there I showed my cozen Roger the Duchess of York sitting in state, while her own mother stands by her; and my Lady

¹ Hugh May.

Castlemaine, whom he approves to be very handsome, and wonders that she cannot be as good within as she is fair without. Her little black boy came by him; and, a dog being in his way, the little boy swore at the dog: "Now," says he, blessing himself, "would I whip this child till the blood come, if it were my child!" and I believe he would. But he do by no means like the liberty of the Court, and did come with expectation of finding them playing at cards to-night, though Sunday; for such stories he is told, but how true I know not.¹ My wife tells me Mr. Frampton² is gone to sea, and so she lost her labour to-day in thinking to hear him preach.

28th. To Westminster, where I spent the morning at the Lords' House door, to hear the conference between the two Houses about my Lord Mordaunt, of which there was great expectation, many hundreds of people coming to hear it. But, when they came, the Lords did insist upon my Lord Mordaunt's having leave to sit upon a stool uncovered within their barr, and that he should have counsel, which the Commons would not suffer, but desired leave to report their Lordships' resolution to the House of Commons; and so parted for this day, which troubled me, I having by this means lost the whole day. Here I hear from Mr. Hayes that Prince Rupert is very bad

¹ There is little reason to doubt that it was such as Evelyn describes it at a later time. "I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and prophaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and, as it were, total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening) which this day se'nnight I was witness of; the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland [*Castlemaine*], Mazarin, &c. A French boy singing love songs in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000*l.* in gold before them; upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflexions with astonishment. Six days after was all in the dust."—*Diary*, February, 1685.

² See note, January 20, 1667, *ante*.

still, and so bad, that he do now yield to be trepanned. Much work I find there is to do in the two Houses in a little time, and much difference there is between them in many things to be reconciled ; as in the Bill for examining our accounts ; Lord Mordaunt's ; Bill for building the City, and several others. Home by coach, calling at Broad Street and taking the goldsmith home with me, and I paid him 15*l.* 15*s.* for my silver standish. He tells me gold holds up its price still, and did desire me to let him have what old 20*s.* pieces I have, and he would give me 3*s.* 2*d.* change for each. Comes Mr. Gauden at my desire to me, and to-morrow I shall pay him some money, and shall see what present he will make me, the hopes of which do make me part with my money out of my chest, which I should not otherwise do. After supper and reading a little, and my wife's cutting off my hair short, which is grown too long upon my crown of my head, I to bed.

29th. To the office, where Sir W. Pen and I look much askewe one upon another, though afterward business made us speak friendly enough, but yet we hate one another. Sir W. Batten came to me, and tells me that there is newes upon the Exchange to-day, that my Lord Sandwich's coach and the French Ambassador's ~~at~~ Madrid, meeting and contending for the way, they shot my Lord's postilion and another man dead ;¹ and that we have killed 25 of theirs, and that my Lord is well. How true this is I cannot tell. Comes Mrs. Turner to me, to make her complaint of her sad usage from my Lord Brouncker, that he thinks much she hath not already got another house, though he himself hath employed her night and day ever since his first naming of the matter, to make part of her house ready for him, as

¹ Intended as retaliation, perhaps, for the humiliation experienced by D'Estrades in London. See 4th October, 1661, *ante*.

he ordered, and promised she should stay till she had fitted herself; by which I perceive he is a rotten-hearted, false man, and, therefore, I must beware of him accordingly. I did pity the woman, and gave her the best council I could; and so, falling to other discourse, I made her laugh and merry, as sad as she came to me; so that I perceive no passion in a woman can be lasting long;¹ and so parted and I home, and there teaching my girle Barker part of my song "It is decreed," which she will sing prettily, and so after supper to bed.

30th. Fast-day for the King's death. I all the morning at my chamber making up my month's accounts, which I did before dinner to my thorough content, and find myself but a small gainer this month, having no manner of profits, but just my salary, but, blessed be God! that I am able to save out of that, living as I do. In the evening my wife and I and Mercer and Barker to little Michells, walked, with some neats' tongues and cake and wine, and there sat with the little couple with great pleasure and talked and eat and drank, and so walked home, about eight at night, it being a little moonshine and fair weather, into the garden, and, with Mercer, sang till my wife put me in mind of its being a fast-day; and so I was sorry for it, and stopped, and home to cards.²

31st. Mr. Osborne comes from Mr. Gauden, and takes money and notes for 4000*l.*, and leaves me acknowledgment for 4800*l.* and odd; implying as if D. Gauden would give the 800*l.* between Povy and myself, but how he will divide it I know not. The Parliament is not yet up, being finishing some bills.

¹ Pepys might be thinking of Francis I.'s

"Souvent femme varie,
Bien fol est qui s'y fie."

² The distinctions without a difference which Pepys draws, are often very ludicrous.

Thus the month ends : myself in very good health and content of mind in my family. All our heads full in the office at this dividing of the Comptroller's duty. Parliament, upon breaking up, having given the King money with much ado, and great heats, and neither side pleased, neither King nor them. The imperfection of the Poll Bill, which must be mended before they rise, there being several horrible oversights to the prejudice of the King, is a certain sign of the care anybody hath of the King's business. Nobody knows who commands the fleete next year, or, indeed, whether we shall have a fleete or no. Great preparations in Holland and France, and the French have lately taken Antigo (Antigua) from us, which vexes us.¹

February 1st. Much surprised to hear this day at Deptford that Mrs. Batters is going already to be married to him, that is now the Captain of her husband's ship. She seemed the most passionate mourner in the world.

2nd. This night comes home my new silver snuff-dish, which I do give myself for my closet. I am very well pleased this night with reading a poem I brought home with me last night from Westminster Hall, of Dryden's² upon the present war ; a very good poem.

3rd. (Lord's day). To White Hall, and there to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and there staid till he was ready, talking, and among other things of the Prince's being trepanned, which was in doing just as we passed through the Stone Gallery, we asking at the door of his lodgings, and were told so. We are full of wishes for the good success ; though I dare say but few do really concern ourselves for him

¹ It is now not only English, but also the seat of a colonial bishopric.

² Annus Mirabilis.

in our hearts. With others into the House, and there hear that the work is done to the Prince¹ in a few minutes without any pain at all to him, he not knowing when it was done. It was performed by Moulins. Having cut the outward table, as they call it, they find the inner all corrupted, so as it came out without any force; and their fear is, that the whole inside of his head is corrupted² like that, which do yet make them afraid of him; but no ill accident appeared in the doing of the thing, but all with all imaginable success, as Sir Alexander Frazier did tell me himself, I asking him, who is very kind to me. To Sir G. Carteret's to dinner; and before dinner he tells me that he believes the Duke of York will go to sea with the fleete, which I am sorry for in respect to his person, but yet there is no person in condition to command the fleete, now the Captains are grown so great, but him. By and by to dinner, where very good company. Among other discourse, we talked much of Nostradamus³ his prophecy of these times,

¹ Rupert.² See 15th Jan. 1665.³ Michael Nostradamus, a physician and astrologer, born in the diocese of Avignon, 1503. Amongst other predictions, one was interpreted as foreshowing the singular death of Hen. II. of France, by which his reputation was increased. In the 49th quatrain of his 9th century, the lines

“Gand et Bruxelles marcheront contre Anvers,
Sénat de Londres mettront à mort leur roi,”

may well be applied to the death of Charles I. Some coincidences in modern times are also curious. He speaks of the “renovation de siècle,” in 1792, in which year, in fact, the French revolutionary kalendar took its rise. The landing of Bonaparte from Elba, at Fréjus, was supposed to be predicted in cent. x. quatrain xxiii.—

“Au peuple ingrat faites les remonstrances,
Par lors l'armée se saisera d'Antibe,
Dans l'arc Monech feront les doléances,
Et à Frejus l'un l'autre prepdra ribe.”

Jodelle's clever distich on Nostradamus is worthy of a place,—

and the burning of the City of London,¹ some of whose verses are put into Booker's² Almanack this year; and Sir G. Carteret did tell a story, how at his death he did make the town swear that he should never be dug up, or his tomb opened, after he was buried; but they did after sixty years do it, and upon his breast they found a plate of brasse, saying what a wicked and unfaithful people the people of that place were, who after so many vows should disturb and open him such a day and year and hour; which, if true, is very strange. Then we fell to talking of the burning of the City; and my Lady Carteret herself did tell us how abundance of pieces of burnt papers were cast by the wind as far as Cranborne;³ and among others she took up one, or had one brought her to see, which was a little bit of paper that had been printed, whereon there remained no more nor less than these words: "Time

"Nostra damus, cum falsa damus, nam fallere nostrum est,
Et cum falsa damus, nil nisi nostra damus."

As well as the reply by Nostradamus's followers,—

"Nostra damus, cum verba damus, quæ Nostradamus dat,
Nam quæcumque dedit, nil nisi vera dedit."

He succeeded too in rendering assistance to the inhabitants of Aix, during the plague, by a powder of his own invention. He died at Salon, July, 1566.

¹ Roger L'Estrange, whose office it was to license the Almanacks, told Sir Edward Walker, "that most of them did foretel the fire of London last year, but hee caused itt to bee put out."—WARD'S *Diary*, p. 94.

² John Booker, an eminent astrologer and writing-master at Hadley. The words quoted by him from Nostradamus are (cent. ii. quatrain li.)—

"Le sang du juste à Londres fera faute,
Bruslex par foudre de vingt trois les six,
La dame antique cherra de place haute,
De mesme secte plusieurs seront occis."

³ In Windsor Forest.

is, it is done."¹ Away home, and received some letters from Sir W. Coventry, touching the want of victuals to Kempthorne's² fleete going to the Streights and now in the Downes: which did trouble me, he saying that this disappointment might prove fatal; and the more, because Sir W. Coventry do intend to come to the office upon business to-morrow morning, and I shall not know what answer to give him. This did mightily trouble my mind; however, I fell to read a little in Hakewill's Apology,³ and did satisfy myself mightily fair in the truth of the saying that the world do not grow old at all, but is in as good condition in all respects as ever it was as to nature.

4th. To the office, where Mr. Gauden comes, and he and I discourse the business well, and I think I shall get off well enough; but I do by Sir W. Coventry's silence conclude that he is not satisfied in my management of my place and the charge it puts the King to, which I confess I am not in present condition through my late laziness to give any good answer to. But here do D. Gauden give me a good cordiall this morning, by telling me that he do give me five of the eight hundred pounds on his account remaining in my hands to myself, for the service I do him in my victualling business, and 100*l.* for my particular share of the profits of my Tangier employment as Treasurer. This do begin

¹ Sir C. Wren, it is well known, took up a stone from the ruins of St. Paul's having the word "Resurgam" inscribed, which he adopted.

² John Kempthorne, a distinguished naval officer, afterwards knighted, and made Commissioner at Portsmouth, which place he represented in Parliament. Ob. 1679. See some curious letters about his election, in the "Correspondence."

³ "An Apology or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World." By George Hakewill, a learned divine. Oxford, 1627. The work was frequently reprinted.

to make my heart glad, and I did dissemble it the better, for when Sir W. Coventry did come, and the rest met, I did appear unconcerned, and did give him answer pretty satisfactory what he asked me ; so that I did get off this meeting without any ground lost, but rather a great deal gained by interposing that which did belong to my duty to do, and neither Sir W. Coventry nor Sir W. Pen did oppose anything thereunto, which did make my heart very glad. Sir W. Coventry being gone, we at noon to dinner to Sir W. Pen, he inviting me and my wife, and there a pretty good dinner. So here I was mighty merry and all our differences seemingly blown over, though he knows, if he be not a fool, that I love him not, and I do the like that he hates me. Soon as dined, my wife and I out to the Duke's playhouse, and there saw "Heraclius,"¹ an excellent play, to my extraordinary content ; and the more from the house being very full, and great company ; among others, Mrs. Stewart, very fine, with her locks done up with puffs, as my wife calls them : and several other great ladies had their hair so, though I do not like it ; but my wife do mightily—but it is only because she sees it is the fashion. Here I saw my Lord Rochester and his lady, Mrs. Mallet, who hath after all this ado married him ; and, as I hear some say in the pit, it is a great act of charity, for he hath no estate. But it was pleasant to see how every body rose up when my Lord John Butler, the Duke of Ormond's son,² came into the pit towards the end of the play, who was a servant to Mrs. Mallet,³ and now smiled upon

¹ See note to 8th March, 1664.

² Lord John Butler was born in 1643, and in January, 1676, married Anne, only daughter of Arthur Chichester, Earl of Donegal. In April, 1676, he was created Earl of Gowran. Ob. s. p., 1677 : see 25th November, *ante*.

³ See 25th November, *ante*.



her, and she on him. I had sitting next to me a woman, the likest my Lady Castlemaine that ever I saw anybody like another; but she is acquainted with every fine fellow, and called them by their name, Jacke, and Tom, and before the end of the play frisked to another place. Home, and to my chamber, and there finished my Catalogue of my books with my own hand.

5th. Heard this morning that the Prince is much better, and hath good rest. All the talk is that my Lord Sandwich hath perfected the peace with Spayne, which is very good, if true. Sir H. Cholmly was with me this morning, and told me of my Lord Bellassis's base dealings with him by getting him to give him great gratuities to near 2,000*l.* for his friendship in the business of the Mole, and hath been lately underhand endeavouring to bring another man into his place as Governor, so as to receive his money of Sir H. Cholmly for nothing. After dinner abroad with my wife and little Betty Michell, and took them against my vowes, but I will make good my forfeit, to the King's house, to see "The Chances."¹ A good play I find it, and the actors most good in it; and pretty to hear Knipp sing in the play very properly, "All night I weepe;"² and sung it admirably. The whole play pleases me well: and most of all, the sight of many fine ladies—among others, my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Middleton: the latter of the two hath also a very excellent face and body, I think. Thence by coach to the New Exchange, and there laid out money, and I did give Betty Michell two pair of gloves and a dressing-box; and so home in the dark, over the ruins, with a link,

¹ A comedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher, of which an alteration was afterwards, in 1682, brought out by the Duke of Buckingham.

² This song is not in Beaumont and Fletcher, as printed, nor in the alteration of the play by the Duke.

to the office. This morning there came to me Mr. Young and Whistler, flagg-makers, and with mighty earnestness did present me with, and press me to take a box, wherein I could not guess there was less than 100*l.* in gold: but I do wholly refuse, and did not at last take it. The truth is, not thinking them safe men to receive such a gratuity from, nor knowing any considerable courtesy that ever I did do them, but desirous to keep myself free from their reports, and to have it in my power to say I had refused their offer.

6th. To Westminster Hall, and walked up and down, and hear that the Prince do still rest well by day and night, and out of pain; so as great hopes are conceived of him: though I did meet Dr. Clerke and Mr. Pierce, and they do say they believe he will not recover it, they supposing that his whole head within is eaten by this corruption, which appeared in this piece of the inner table. To White Hall, to attend the Council; but they sat not to-day. So to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and find him within, and with a letter from the Downes in his hands, telling the loss of the St. Patricke coming from Harwich in her way to Portsmouth; and would needs chase two ships, she having the Malago fire-ship in company, which from English colours put up Dutch, and he would clap on board the Vice-Admirall; and after long dispute the Admirall comes on the other side of him, and both together took him. Our fire-ship (Seely)¹ not coming in to fire all three, but came away, leaving her in their possession, and carried away by them: a ship² built at Bristoll the last year, of fifty guns and upwards, and a most excellent good ship.

¹ "Captain Seely, captain of the fireship that deserted the Patrick, was this day (March 7th) shot to death on board his own vessel."
—*Pointer*, vol. i. p. 216.

² The Patrick.

7th. Before dinner, talking with my brother upon matters relating to his journey to Brampton to-morrow, and giving him good counsel about spending the time when he shall stay in the country with my father, I looking another way heard him fall down, and turned my head, and he was fallen down all along upon the ground dead, which did put me into a great fright; and, to see my brotherly love! I did presently lift him up from the ground, he being as pale as death; and, being upon his legs, he did presently come to himself, and said he had something come into his stomach very hot. He knew not what it was, nor ever had such a fit before. I never was so frightened but once, when my wife was ill at Ware upon the road, and I did continue trembling a good while and ready to weepe, he continuing mighty pale all dinner and melancholy, that I was loth to let him take his journey to-morrow; but he began to be pretty well, and after dinner my wife and Barker fell to singing, which pleased me pretty well, my wife taking mighty pains and proud that she shall come to trill, and indeed I think she will. So to the office, late doing business, and then home, and find my brother pretty well. I did this night give him 20s. for books, and as much for his pocket, and 15s. to carry him down. Poor fellow! he is so melancholy, and withal, my wife says, harmless, that I begin to love him, and would be loth he should not do well.

8th. This morning my brother John came up to my bedside, and took his leave of us. I begin to fancy him from yesterday's incident, it troubling me to think I should be left without a brother or son, which is the first time that ever I had thoughts of the kind in my life. He gone, I up, and to the office. Sir W. Batten came this morning from the House, where the King hath prorogued this Parliament to October next. I am glad they are up. The

Bill for Accounts was not offered, the party being willing to let it fall; but the King did tell them he expected it. They are parted with great heart-burnings, one party against the other. Pray God bring them hereafter together in better temper! It is said that the King do intend himself in this interval to take away Lord Mordaunt's government,¹ so as to do something to appease the House against they come together, and let them see he will do that of his own accord which is fit, without their forcing him; and that he will have his Commission for Accounts go on: which will be good things. At dinner we talked much of Cromwell; all saying he was a brave fellow, and did owe his crowne he got to himself as much as any man that ever got one.

9th. To the office, where busy, very busy late, and then home and read a piece of a play, "Every Man in his Humour,"² wherein is the greatest propriety of speech that ever I read in my life: and so to bed. This noon came my wife's watchmaker, and received 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ of me for her watch; but Captain Rolt coming to speak with me about a little business, he did judge of the work to be very good, and so I am well contented.

10th. (Lord's day.) With my wife to church, where Mr. Mills made an unnecessary sermon upon Original Sin, neither understood by himself nor the people. Home, where came Mr. Carter,³ my old acquaintance of Magdalene College, who hath not been here of many years. He hath spent his time in the North with the Bishop of Carlisle⁴ much. He is grown a very comely person, and of good discourse, and one that I like very much. We had much talk of all our old acquaintance of the College,

¹ Windsor Castle.

² Ben Jonson's well-known play.

³ Thomas Carter, S.T.P., 1669.

⁴ Dr. Rainbow.

concerning their various fortunes ; wherein, to my joy, I met not with any that have sped better than myself. Mrs. Turner do tell me very odde stories how Mrs. Williams¹ do receive the applications of people, and hath presents, and she is the hand that receives all, while my Lord Brouncker do the business.

11th. With Creed to Westminster Hall, and there up and down, and heard that Prince Rupert is still better and better ; and that he did tell Dr. Troutbecke expressly that my Lord Sandwich is ordered home. I hear, too, that Prince Rupert hath begged the having of all the stolen prize-goods which he can find, and that he is looking out anew after them, which at first troubled me ; but I do see it cannot come to anything, but is done by Hayes, or some of his little people about him. Here, among other newes, I bought the King's speech at proroguing the House the other day, wherein are some words which cannot but import some prospect of a peace, which God send us ! After dinner by coach to Lord Bellassis', and with him to Povy's house. Having done what we had to do there, my Lord set me down at the New Exchange, where I staid till Betty Michell came, which she did about five o'clock, and was surprised not to *trouver* my *muger* (wife) there ; but I did make an excuse good enough, and so I took *elle* down, and over the water to the cabinet-maker's and there bought a dressing-box for her for 20s., but would require an hour's time to make fit. So *elle* to enter *à la casa de uno de sus hermanos* (to the house of one of her brothers) and I past my time walking up and down, and among other places, to one Drumbleby, a maker of flageolets, the best in

¹ Granger describes an engraved portrait by Cooper, after Lely, of the Lady (Mrs.) Williams, which, probably, represents the person so often mentioned in the "Diary."

towne, and so I back to the cabinet-maker's and there staid ; and by and by Betty comes, and here we staid in the shop and above seeing the workmen work, which was pretty, till it was late quite dark, and the mistresse of the shop took us into the kitchen and there talked and used us very prettily ; there very merry, till my thing was done, and then took coach and home. But now comes my trouble, I did begin to fear that *su marido* might go to my house to enquire *pour elle*, and there, *trouvant* my *muger* at home, would not only think himself, but give my *femme* occasion to think strange things. This did trouble me mightily, so though *elle* would not seem to have me trouble myself about it, yet did agree to the stopping the coach at the streete's end, and *aller con elle* home, and there presently hear by him that he had newly sent *su* mayde to my house to see for her mistresse. This do much perplex me, and I did go presently home (Betty whispering me behind the *tergo* de her *mari*, that if I would say that we did come home by water, *elle* could make up *la cose* well *satis*), and there in a sweat did walk in the entry before my door, thinking what I should say *à* my *femme*, and as God would have it, while I was in this case (the worst in reference *à* my *femme* that ever I was in in my life), a little woman comes stumbling to the entry steps in the dark ; whom asking who she was, she enquired for my house. So knowing her voice, and telling her *su donna* is come home she went away. But, Lord ! in what a trouble was I, when she was gone, to recollect whether this was not the second time of her coming, but at last concluding that she had not been here before, I did bless myself in my good fortune in getting home before her, and do verily believe she had loitered some time by the way, which was my great good fortune, and so I in a-doors and there found all well.

So my heart full of joy, I to the office awhile, and after supper to bed.

12th. With my Lord Brouncker by coach to his house, there to hear some Italian musique : and here we met Tom Killigrew, Sir Robert Murray, and the Italian Signor Baptista,¹ who hath composed a play in Italian for the Opera, which T. Killigrew do intend to have up ; and here he did sing one of the acts. He himself is the poet as well as the musician ; which is very much, and did sing the whole from the words without any musique prickt, and played all along upon a harpsicon most admirably, and the composition most excellent. The words I did not understand, and so know not how they are fitted, but believe very well, and all in the recitativo very fine. But I perceive there is a proper accent in every country's discourse, and that do reach in their setting of notes to words, which, therefore, cannot be natural to any body else but them ; so that I am not so much smitten with it as, it may be, I should be, if I were acquainted with their accent. But the whole composition is certainly most excellent ; and the poetry, T. Killigrew and Sir R. Murray, who understood the words, did say was excellent. I confess I was mightily pleased with the musique. He pretends not to voice, though it be good, but not excellent. This done, T. Killigrew and I to talk : and he tells me how the audience at his house is not above half so much as it used to be before the late fire. That Knipp is like to make the best actor that ever came upon the stage, she understanding so well : that they are going to give her 30*l.* a-year more. That the stage is now by his pains a thousand times better and more glorious than ever heretofore. Now, wax-candles, and many of them ;

¹ Giovanni Baptista Draghi, an Italian musician in the service of Queen Catherine, and a composer of merit.—HAWKINS'S *History of Music*.

then, not above 3 lbs. of tallow : now, all things civil, no rudeness anywhere ; then, as in a bear garden : then, two or three fiddlers ; now, nine or ten of the best : then, nothing but rushes upon the ground, and every thing else mean ; now, all otherwise : then, the Queen seldom and the King never would come ; now, not the King only for state, but all civil people do think they may come as well as any. He tells me that he hath gone several times, eight or ten times, he tells me, hence to Rome to hear good musique ; so much he loves it, though he never did sing or play a note. That he hath endeavoured in the late King's time, and in this, to introduce good musique, but he never could do it, there never having been any musique here better than ballads. Nay, says, " Hermitt poore" and " Chivy Chese "¹ was all the musique we had ; and yet no ordinary fiddlers get so much money as our's do here, which speaks our rudenesse still. That he hath gathered our Italians from several Courts in Christendome, to come to make a concert for the King, which he do give 200*l.* a-year a-piece to : but badly paid, and do come in the room of keeping four ridiculous gundilows,² he having got the King to put them away, and lay out money this way ; and indeed I do commend him for it, for I think it is a very noble undertaking. He do intend to have some times of the year these operas to be performed at the two present theatres, since he is defeated in what he intended in Moorefields on purpose for it ; and he tells me plainly that the City audience was as good as the Court, but now they are most gone. Baptista tells me that Giacomo Charissimi is still alive at Rome, who was master to Vinneotio, who is one of the Italians that the King hath here, and the chief

¹ Chevy Chase.

² The gondolas mentioned before, as sent by the Doge of Venice. See 11th September, 1661, *ante*.

composer of them. My great wonder is, how this man do to keep in memory so perfectly the musique of the whole act, both for the voice and the instrument too. I confess I do admire it : but in recitativo the sense much helps him, for there is but one proper way of discoursing and giving the accents. Having done our discourse, we all took coaches, my Lord's and T. Killigrew's, and to Mrs. Knipp's chamber, where this Italian is to teach her to sing her part. And so we all thither, and there she did sing an Italian song or two very fine, while he played the bass upon a harpsicon there ; and exceedingly taken I am with her singing, and believe that she will do miracles at that and acting. Her little girl is mighty pretty and witty. I mightily pleased with this evening's work, we all parted, and I took coach and home, where late at my office, and then to enter my last three days' Journall ; and so to supper and to bed, troubled at nothing, but that these pleasures do hinder me in my business, and the more by reason of our being to dine abroad to-morrow, and then Saturday next is appointed to meet again at my Lord Brouncker's lodgings, and there to have the whole quire of Italians ; but then I do consider that this is all the pleasure I live for in the world, and the greatest I can ever expect in the best of my life, and one thing more, that by hearing this man to-night, and I think Captain Cooke to-morrow, and the quire of Italians on Saturday, I shall be truly able to distinguish which of them pleases me truly best, which I do much desire to know and have good reason and fresh occasion of judging.

13th. To the Duke of York, and there did our usual business ; but troubled to see that, at this time, after our declaring a debt to the Parliament of 900,000*l.*, and nothing paid since, but the debt increased, and now the fleete to set out ; to hear that

the King hath ordered but 35,000*l.* for the setting out of the fleete, out of the Poll Bill, to buy all provisions, when five times as much had been little enough to have done any thing to purpose. They have, indeed, ordered more for paying off of seamen and the Yards for some time, but not enough for that neither. Another thing is, the acquainting the Duke of York with the case of Mr. Lanyon, our agent at Plymouth, who has trusted us to 8,000*l.* out of purse; we are not in condition, after so many promises, to obtain him a farthing, nor though a message was carried by Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry to the Commissioners for Prizes, that he might have 3,000*l.* out of 20,000*l.* worth of prizes to be shortly sold there, that he might buy at the candle and pay for the goods out of bills, and all would not do any thing, but the money must go another way, while the King's service is undone, and those that trust him perish. These things grieve me to the heart. The Prince, I hear, is every day better and better. To Dr. Clerke's, by invitation. Here was his wife, painted, and her sister Worshipp, a widow now and mighty pretty in her mourning. Here was also Mr. Pierce and Mr. Floyd, Secretary to the Lords Commissioners of Prizes, and Captain Cooke, to dinner, an ill and little mean one, with foul cloth and dishes, and everything poor. Discoursed most about plays and the Opera, where, among other vanities, Captain Cooke had the arrogance to say that he was fain to direct Sir W. Davenant in the breaking of his verses into such and such lengths, according as would be fit for musick, and how he used to swear at Davenant, and command him that way, when W. Davenant would be angry, and find fault with this or that note—a vain coxcomb he is, though he sings and composes so well. Dr. Clerke did say that Sir W. Davenant is no good judge of a

dramatick poem, finding fault with his choice of Henry the 5th, and others, for the stage, when I do think, and he confesses, "The Siege of Rhodes" as good as ever was writ. Cooke gone, Dr. Clerke fell to reading a new play, newly writ, of a friend's of his ; but, by his discourse and confession afterwards, it was his own. Some things, but very few, moderately good ; but infinitely far from the conceit, wit, design, and language, from very many plays that I know ; so that, but for compliment, I was quite tired with hearing it. There was a very great disorder this day at the Ticket Office, to the beating and bruising of the face of Carcasse very much. A foul evening this was to-night, and I mightily troubled to get a coach home ; and, which is now my common practice, going over the ruins in the night, I rid with my sword drawn in the coach.

14th. To the office, where Carcasse comes with his plaistered face, and called himself Sir W. Batten's martyr, which made W. Batten mad almost, and mighty quarrelling there was. We spent the morning almost wholly upon considering some way of keeping the peace at the Ticket Office ; but it is plain that the case of the office is nobody's work, and that is it that makes it stand in the ill condition it do. After dinner by coach to my Lord Chancellor's, and there a meeting : the Duke of York, Duke of Albemarle, and several other Lords of the Commission of Tangier. And there I did present a state of my accounts, and managed them well ; and my Lord Chancellor did say, though he was, in other things, in an ill humour, that no man in England was of more method, nor made himself better understood than myself. But going, after the business of money was over, to other businesses, of settling the garrison, he did fling out, and so did the Duke of York, two or three severe words touching my Lord Bellassis :

that he would have no Governor come away from thence in less than three years; no, though his lady were with child. "And," says the Duke of York, "there should be no Governor continue so, longer than three years." "And," says Lord Arlington, "when our rules are once set, and upon good judgment declared, no Governor should offer to alter them." "We must correct the many things that are amiss there; for," says the Lord Chancellor, "you must think we do hear of more things amiss than we are willing to speak before our friends' faces." My Lord Bellassis would not take notice of their reflecting on him, and did wisely. H. Cholmly and I to the Temple, and there walked in the dark in the walks talking of newes; and he surprises me with the certain newes that the King did last night in Council declare his being in treaty with the Dutch: that they had sent him a very civil letter, declaring that, if nobody but themselves were concerned, they would not dispute the place of treaty, but leave it to his choice; but that, being obliged to satisfy therein a Prince of equal quality with himself, they must except any place in England or Spayne. And so the King hath chosen the Hague, and thither hath chose my Lord Hollis and Harry Coventry¹ to go Embassadors to treat; which is so mean a thing, as all the world will believe, that we do go to beg a peace of them, whatever we pretend. And it seems all our Court are mightily for a peace, taking this to be the time to make one, while the King hath money,

¹ Henry, third son of Thomas, first Lord Coventry; after the Restoration made a Groom of the Bedchamber, and elected M.P. for Droitwich. In 1664 he was sent Envoy Extraordinary to Sweden, where he remained two years, and was again employed on an embassy to the same Court in 1671. He also succeeded in negotiating the peace at Breda here alluded to, and in 1672 became Secretary of State, which office he resigned in 1679, on account of ill health. He died unmarried, December 7, 1686.

that he may save something of what the Parliament hath given him to put him out of debt, so as he may need the help of no more Parliaments, as to the point of money: but our debt is so great, and expence daily so encreased, that I believe little of the money will be saved between this and the making of the peace up. But that which troubles me most is, that we have chosen a son of Secretary Morris,¹ a boy never used to any business, to go Secretary to the Embassy, which shows how little we are sensible of the weight of the business upon us. God therefore give a good end to it, for I doubt it, and yet do much more doubt the issue of our continuing the war, for we are in no wise fit for it, and yet it troubles me to think what Sir H. Cholmly says, that he believes they will not give us any reparation for what we have suffered by the war, nor put us into any better condition than what we were in before the war, for that will be shamefull for us. Thence parted with him and home through the dark over the ruins by coach, with my sword drawn, to my office, where dispatched some business; and so home to supper and to bed. This morning came up to my wife's bedside, I being up dressing myself, little Will Mercer to be her Valentine; and brought her name writ upon blue paper in gold letters, done by himself, very pretty; and we were both well pleased with it. But I am also this year my wife's Valentine, and it will cost me 5*l*.; but that I must have laid out if we had not been Valentines.

15th. Up and with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes by coach to White Hall, where we attended upon the Duke of York to complain of the disorders the other day among the seamen at the Pay at the Ticket Office, and that it arises from lack of money,

¹ Sir William Morris. He had several sons.

and that we desire, unless better provided for with money, to have nothing more to do with the payment of tickets, it being not our duty; and the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry did agree to it, so that I hope we shall be rid of the trouble. This done, I moved for allowance for a house for Mr. Turner, and got it granted. That done, home and to dinner, where I hear Pegg Pen is married¹ this day privately; no friends, but two or three relations of his and hers. Borrowed many things of my kitchen for dressing their dinner. This wedding, being private, is imputed to its being just before Lent, and so in vain to make new clothes till Easter, that they might see the fashions as they are like to be this summer; which is reason good enough. Mrs. Turner tells me she hears Sir W. Pen gives 4,500*l.* or 4,000*l.* with her.

16th. To my Lord Brouncker's, and there was Sir Robert Murray, a most excellent man of reason and learning, and understands the doctrine of musique, and everything else I could discourse of, very finely. Here came Mr. Hooke, Sir George Ent, Dr. Wren, and many others; and by and by the musique, that is to say, Signor Vincentio,² who is the master-composer, and six more, whereof two eunuches, so tall, that Sir T. Harvey said well that he believes they do grow large as our oxen do, and one woman very well dressed and handsome enough, but would not be kissed, as Mr. Killigrew, who brought the company in, did acquaint us. They sent two harpsicons before; and by and by, after tuning they began; and, I confess, very good musique they made; that is, the composition exceeding good, but yet not at all more pleasing to me than what I have heard in English by Mrs. Knipp, Captain Cooke, and others. Nor do I dote on the eunuches; they sing, indeed, pretty high.

¹ To Anthony Lowther.

² Perhaps the person called Vinnecotio, Feb. 12, 1666-7, *ante*.

and have a mellow kind of sound, but yet I have been as well satisfied with several women's voices and men also, as Crispe of the Wardrobe. The women sung well, but that which distinguishes all is this, that in singing, the words are to be considered, and how they are fitted with notes, and then the common accent of the country is to be known and understood by the hearer, or he will never be a good judge of the vocal musique of another country. So that I was not taken with this at all, neither understanding the first, nor by practice reconciled to the latter, so that their motions, and risings and fallings, though it may be pleasing to an Italian, or one that understands the tongue, yet to me it did not, but do from my heart believe that I could set words in English, and make musique of them more agreeable to any Englishman's eare (the most judicious) than any Italian musique set for the voice, and performed before the same man, unless he be acquainted with the Italian accent of speech. The composition as to the musique part was exceeding good, and their justness in keeping time by practice much before any that we have, unless it be a good band of practised fiddlers. To Mrs. Pierce's, and there I find Mrs. Pierce's little girl is my Valentine, she having drawn me; which I was not sorry for, it easing me of something more than I must have given to others. But here I do first observe the fashion of drawing of mottos as well as names; so that Pierce, who drew my wife, did draw also a motto, and this girl drew another for me. What mine was I have forgot; but my wife's was, "Most virtuous and most fair;" which, as it may be used, or an anagram made upon each name, might be very pretty. One wonder I observed to-day, that there was no musique in the morning to call up our new-married people, which is very mean, methinks.

17th. (Lord's day.) To the Duke's, where we all

met and had a hot encounter before the Duke of York about the business of our payments at the Ticket Office. I did plainly declare that, without money, no fleete could be expected, and desired the Duke to take notice of it, and notice was taken of it, but I doubt will do no good. Sir W. Coventry plainly said that he did believe it would be a better work for the King than going to church this morning to send for the Attorney Generall to meet at the Lord Treasurer's this afternoon and to bring the thing to an issue, saying that he himself, were he going to the Sacrament, would not think he should offend God to leave it and go to the ending this work, so much it is of moment to the King and Kingdom. Hereupon the Duke of York said he would presently speak and cause it to be done this afternoon. Having done here we broke up, and after dinner to my Lord Chancellor's, where I met with, and had much pretty discourse with, one of the Progers's that knew me; and it was pretty to hear him tell me, of his own accord, as a matter of no shame, that in Spayne he had a pretty woman, his mistress, whom, when money grew scarce with him, he was forced to leave, and afterwards heard how she and her husband lived well, she being kept by an old fryer; but this, says he, is better than as our ministers do, who have wives that lay up their estates, and do no good nor relieve any poor—no, not our greatest prelates. Staid till the Council was up, and attended the King and Duke of York round the Park, and was asked several questions by both; but I was in pain, lest they should ask me what I could not answer; as the Duke of York did the value of the hull of the St. Patrick lately lost, which I told him I could not presently answer; though I might have easily furnished myself to answer all those questions. They stood a good while to see the ganders and geese in the water.

At home, by appointment, comes Captain Cocke to me, to talk of State matters, and about the peace; who told me that the whole business is managed between Kevet, Burgomaster of Amsterdam, and my Lord Arlington, who hath, through his wife¹ there, some interest. We have proposed the Hague, but know not yet whether the Dutch will like it; or, if they do, whether the French will. We think we shall have the help of the information of their affairs and state, and the helps of the Prince of Orange his faction; but above all, that De Witt, who hath all this while said he cannot get peace, his mouth will now be stopped, so that he will be forced to offer fit terms for fear of the people; and, lastly, if France or Spayne do not please us, we are in a way presently to clap up a peace with the Dutch, and secure them. But we are also in treaty with France, as he says: but it must be to the excluding our alliance with the King of Spayne or House of Austria: which we do not know presently what will be determined in. He tells me the Vice Chamberlaine is so great with the King, that, let the Duke of York, and Sir W. Coventry, and this office, do or say what they will, while the King lives, Sir G. Carteret will do what he will; and advises me to be often with him, and eat and drink with him; and tells me that he doubts he is jealous of me, and was mighty mad to-day at our discourse to him before the Duke of York. But I did give him my reasons that the office is concerned to declare that, without money, the King's work cannot go on. He assures me that Henry Brouncker is one of the shrewdest fellows for parts in England, and a dangerous man; that, while we want money so much in the Navy, the Officers of the Ordnance have at this day 300,000*l.* good in tallys, which they

¹ See *ante*, Nov. 15, 1666.

can command money upon, got by over-estimating their charge in getting it reckoned as a fifth part of the expense of the Navy ; that Harry Coventry, who is to go upon this treaty with Lord Hollis, who he confesses to be a very wise man, into Holland, is a mighty quick, ready man, but not so weighty as he should be, he knowing him so well in his drink as he do : that, unless the King do something against my Lord Mordaunt and the Patent for the Canary Company, before the Parliament next meets, he do believe there will be a civil war before there will be any more money given, unless it may be at their perfect disposal ; and that all things are now ordered to the provoking of the Parliament against they come next, and the spending the King's money, so as to put him into a necessity of having it at the time it is prorogued for, or sooner. This evening, going to the Queen's side¹ to see the ladies, I did find the Queene, the Duchesse of York, and another or two, at cards, with the room full of great ladies and men ; which I was amazed at to see on a Sunday, having not believed it ; but, contrarily, flatly denied the same a little while since to my cozen Roger Pepys.² Going by water, read the answer to " The Apology for Papists,"³ which did like me mightily, it being a thing as well writ as I think most things that ever I read in my life, and glad I am that I read it.

18th. To the King's house, to " The Mayd's Tragedy ;" but vexed all the while with two talking ladies and Sir Charles Sedley ; yet pleased to hear their discourse, he being a stranger. And one of the ladies would, and did sit with her mask on, all the play, and, being exceeding witty as ever I heard woman, did talk most pleasantly with him ; but was, I believe, a virtuous woman, and of quality. He

¹ Her Majesty's apartments, at Whitehall Palace.

² See 27th Jan., *ante*. ³ See Dec. 1, 1666, *ante*.

would fain know who she was, but she would not tell; yet did give him many pleasant hints of her knowledge of him, by that means setting his brains at work to find out who she was, and did give him leave to use all means to find out who she was, but pulling off her mask. He was mighty witty, and she also making sport with him very inoffensively, that a more pleasant rencontre I never heard. But by that means lost the pleasure of the play wholly, to which now and then Sir Charles Sedley's exceptions against both words and pronouncing were very pretty.

19th. To the office, where all the morning doing little business, our want of money being so infinite great. At noon home, and there find old Mr. Michell and Howlett come to desire mine and my wife's company to dinner to their son's, and so away by coach with them, it being Betty's wedding-day a year, as also Shrove Tuesday. Here I made myself mighty merry, and a mighty pretty dinner we had in this little house, to my exceeding great content, and my wife's, and my heart pleased to see Betty. After dinner I fell to read the Acts about the building of the City again; and indeed the laws seem to be very good, and I pray God I may live to see it built in that manner! This morning I hear that our discourse of peace is all in the dirt; for the Dutch will not like of the peace, or at least the French will not agree to it; so that I do wonder what we shall do, for carry on the war we cannot.

20th. To White Hall, by the way observing Sir W. Pen's carrying a favour to Sir W. Coventry, for his daughter's wedding, and saying that there was others for us, when we will fetch them, which vexed me, and I am resolved not to wear it when he gives me one. His wedding hath been so poorly kept, that I am ashamed of it; for a fellow that makes such a flutter as he do. When we came to the Duke

of York here, I heard discourse how Harris of his play-house is sick, and everybody commends him, and, above all things, for acting the Cardinall. They talked how the King's viallin, Bannister,¹ is mad that the King hath a Frenchman² come to be chief of some part of the King's musique, at which the Duke of York made great mirth. Then withdrew to his closett, where all our business, lack of money and prospect of the effects of it, such as made Sir W. Coventry say publickly before us all, that he do heartily wish that his Royal Highness had nothing to do in the Navy, whatever become of him; and much dishonour, he says, is likely to fall under the management of it. The Duke of York was angry, as much as he could be, or ever I saw him, with Sir G. Carteret, for not paying the masters of some ships on Monday last, according to his promise. Thence to the Exchequer, and there find the people in readiness to dispatch my tallys to-day, though Ash Wednesday. So I back by coach to London to Sir Robert Viner's and there got 100*l.* and came away with it and pay my fees round and so away with the 'Chequer men, to the Leg, in King Street, and there had wine for them; and there was one in company with them, that was the man that got the vessel to carry over the King from Bredhemson,³ who hath a pension of 200*l.* per annum,⁴ but ill paid, and the man

¹ John Banister, who had been bred up, under his father, one of the Waits in St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, was sent by Charles II. to France, for improvement; but soon after his return, he was dismissed the King's service, for saying that the English violins were better than the French. He afterwards kept a music school in Whitefriars, and died in 1679.—HAWKINS'S *Hist. of Music*.

² Louis Grabu: see 1st October, 1667, and North's "Memoirs of Musick," by Rimbault, p. 110.

³ Brighthelmstone.

⁴ Nicholas Tetterzell, the master of a coal-brig, on board of which Charles II. embarked, and was safely landed at Fecamp, in

is looking after getting of a prize-ship to live by ; but the trouble is, that this poor man, who hath received no part of his money these four years, and is ready to starve almost, must yet pay to the Poll Bill for this pension. He told me several particulars of the King's coming thither, which was mighty pleasant, and shows how mean a thing a king is, how subject to fall, and how like other men he is in his afflictions. I with Lord Bellassis to the Lord Chancellor's. Lord Bellassis tells me how the King of France hath caused the stop to be made to our proposition of treating in the Hague ; that he being greater than they, we may better come and treat at Paris : so that God knows what will become of the peace ! He tells me, too, as a grand secret, that he do believe the peace offensive and defensive between Spayne and us is quite finished, but must not be known, to prevent the King of France's present falling upon Flanders. He do believe the Duke of York will be made General of the Spanish armies there, and Governor of Flanders, if the French should come against it, and we assist the Spaniard : that we have done the Spaniard abundance of mischief in the West Indys, by our privateers at Jamaica, which they lament mightily, and I am sorry for it to have it done at this time. By and by, come to my Lord Chancellor, who heard mighty quietly my complaints for lack of money, and spoke mighty kind to me, but little hopes of help therein, only his good word. He do confess our straits here and every where else arise from our outspending our revenue. I mean that the King do do so. Thence away, took up my wife, who tells me

Normandy. The Captain, after the Restoration, brought the vessel up the Thames, and moored her opposite Whitehall, and procured an annuity of 100*l.* by this expedient. He lies buried in the churchyard of St. Nicholas, Brighton, where an inscription to his memory may still be seen.

her brother has laid out much money upon himself and wife for clothes, which I am sorry to hear, it requiring great expense.

21st. To the Office, where sat all the morning, and there a most furious conflict between Sir W. Pen and I, in few words, and on a sudden occasion, of no great moment, but very bitter and smart on one another, and so broke off, and to our business, my heart as full of spite as it could hold, for which God forgive me and him ! At the end come witnesses on behalf of Mr. Carcasse ; but, instead of clearing him, I find they were brought to recriminate Sir W. Batten, and did it by oath very highly, that made the old man mad, and, I confess, me ashamed, so that I caused all but ourselves to withdraw, being sorry to have such things declared in the open office, before 100 people. But it was done home, and I believe true, though W. Batten denies all, but is cruel mad, and swore one of them, he or Carcasse, should not continue in the Office, which is said like a fool. I home, my head and mind vexed about the conflict between Sir W. Pen and I, though I have got, not lost any ground by it. Then to the office, where did much business and walked an hour or two with Lord Brouncker, who is mightily concerned in this business for Carcasse and against Sir W. Batten, and I do hope it will come to a good height, for I think it will be good for the King as well as for me, that they two do not agree, though I do, for ought I see yet, think that my Lord is for the most part in the right.

22nd. All of us, that is to say, Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Batten, T. Harvy, and myself, to Sir W. Pen's house, where some other company. It is instead of a wedding dinner for his daughter, whom I saw in palterly clothes, nothing new but a bracelet that her servant¹ had given her, and ugly she is, as

¹ Anthony Lowther, before the marriage.

heart can wish. A sorry dinner, not anything handsome or clean, but some silver plates they borrowed of me. My wife was here too. So a great deal of talk, and I seemingly merry, but took no pleasure at all. We had favours given us all, and we put them in our hats, I against my will, but that my Lord and the rest did. I being displeased that he did carry Sir W. Coventry's himself several days ago, and the people up and down the town long since, and we must have them but to-day. I away to my office, to draw up a letter of the state of the Office and Navy for the Duke of York against Sunday next, and at it late and then home to supper and to bed, talking with my wife of the poorness and meanness of all that Sir W. Pen and the people about us do, compared with what we do.

23rd. This day I am, by the blessing of God, 34 years old, in very good health and mind's content, and in condition of estate much beyond whatever my friends could expect of a child of their's, this day 34 years. The Lord's name be praised ! and may I be thankful for it.

24th. (Lord's day.) My Lady Pen did, going out of church, ask me whether we did not make a great show at Court to-day, with all our favours in our hats. To White Hall, and there meeting my Lord Arlington, he, by I know not what kindness, offered to carry me along with him to my Lord Treasurer's, whither, I told him, I was going. I believe he had a mind to discourse of some Navy businesses, but Sir Thomas Clifford coming into the coach to us, we were prevented ; which I was sorry for, for I had a mind to begin an acquaintance with him. He speaks well, and hath pretty slight superficial parts, I believe. He, in our going, talked much of the plain habit of the Spaniards ; how the King and Lords themselves wear but a cloak of Colchester

bayze,¹ and the ladies mantles, in cold weather, of white flannell: and that the endeavours frequently of setting up the manufacture of making these stuffs there have only been prevented by the Inquisition: the English and Dutchmen that have been sent for to work being taken with a Psalm-book or Testament, and so clapped up, and the house pulled down by the Inquisitors; and the greatest Lord in Spayne dare not say a word against it, if the word Inquisition be but mentioned. Captain Cocke did tell me what I must not forget: that the answer of the Dutch, refusing the Hague for a place of treaty, and proposing Boyse,² Bredah, Bergen-op-Zoome, or Mastricht, was seemingly stopped by the Swede's Ambassador (though he did show it to the King, but the King would take no notice of it, nor does not) from being delivered to the King; and he hath wrote to desire them to consider better of it: so that, though we know their refusal of the place, yet they know not that we know it, nor is the King obliged to show his sense of the affront. That the Dutch are in very great straits, so as to be said to be not able to set out their fleete this year. By and by comes Sir Robert Viner and my Lord Mayor to ask the King's directions about measuring out the streets according to the new Act³ for building of the City, wherein the King is to be pleased.⁴ But he says that the way proposed in

¹ "*Bays*, and *says*, and *serges*, and several sorts of stuffs, which I neither can nor do desire to name, are made in and about Colchester."—FULLER'S *Worthies*.

² Bois-le-Duc.

³ Entitled An Act for Rebuilding the City of London, 19th Car. II. cap. 3.

⁴ See Sir Christopher Wren's Proposals for rebuilding the City of London after the great fire, with an engraved Plan of the principal Streets and Public Buildings, in Elme's "*Memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren*," Appendix, p. 61. The originals are in All Souls' College Library, Oxford.

Parliament, by Colonel Birch, would have been the best, to have chosen some persons in trust, and sold the whole ground, and let it be sold again by them, with preference to the old owner, which would have certainly caused the City to be built where these Trustees pleased; whereas now, great differences will be, and the streets built by fits, and not entire till all differences be decided. This, as he tells it, I think would have been the best way. I enquired about the Frenchman that was said to fire the City, and was hanged for it, by his own confession, that he was hired for it by a Frenchman of Roane, and that he did with a stick reach in a fire-ball in at a window of the house: whereas the master of the house, who is the King's baker, and his son, and daughter, do all swear there was no such window, and that the fire did not begin thereabouts. Yet the fellow, who, though a mopish besotted fellow, did not speak like a madman, did swear that he did fire it: and did not this like a madman; for, being tried on purpose, and landed with his keeper at the Town Wharf, he could carry the keeper to the very house. Asking Sir R. Viner what he thought was the cause of the fire, he tells me, that the baker, son, and his daughter, did all swear again and again, that their oven was drawn by ten o'clock at night: that, having occasion to light a candle about twelve, there was not so much fire in the bakehouse as to light a match for a candle, so that they were fain to go into another place to light it: that about two in the morning they felt themselves almost choked with smoke, and rising, did find the fire coming upstairs; so they rose to save themselves; but that, at that time, the bavins¹ were not on fire in the yard. So that they are, as they swear, in absolute ignorance how this fire should come; which

¹ Faggots.

is a strange thing, that so horrid an effect should have so mean and uncertain a beginning. By and by called into the King and Cabinet, and there had a few insipid words about money for Tangier, but to no purpose. Going through bridge by water, my waterman told me how the mistress of the Beare tavern, at the bridge-foot, did lately fling herself into the Thames, and drowned herself; which did trouble me the more, when they tell me it was she that did live at the White Horse tavern in Lumbard Streete, which was a most beautiful woman, as most I have seen. It seems she hath had long melancholy upon her, and hath endeavoured to make away with herself often.

25th. Lay long in bed, talking with pleasure with my poor wife, how she used to make coal fires, and wash my foul clothes with her own hand for me, poor wretch! in our little room at my Lord Sandwich's; for which I ought for ever to love and admire her, and do; and persuade myself she would do the same thing again, if God should reduce us to it. At my goldsmith's did observe the King's new medall, where, in little, there is Mrs. Stewart's face as well done as ever I saw anything in my whole life, I think: and a pretty thing it is, that he should choose her face to represent Britannia by.

27th. Up by candle-light, about six o'clock, and by water down to Woolwich, I being at leisure this day, the King and Duke of York being gone down to Sheerensse to lay out the design for a fortification there to the river Medway;¹ and so we do not attend the Duke of York as we should otherwise have done. To the Dock Yard, and went into Mr. Pett's; and there, beyond expectation, he did present

¹ The first fortification at Sheerness was erected by Sir Bernard de Gomme. The original draft is in the British Museum: see *post*, March 24, 1667, note.

me with a Japan cane, with a silver head, and his wife sent me by him a ring, with a Woolwich stone,¹ now much in request ; which I accepted, the values not being great : and then, at my asking, did give me an old draught of an ancient-built ship, given him by his father, of the Beare, in Queen Elizabeth's time. This did much please me, it being a thing I much desired to have, to show the difference in the build of ships now and heretofore. Being much taken with this kindness, I away, and so home, there find Mr. Hunt, newly come out of the country, who tells me the country² is much impoverished by the greatness of taxes : the farmers do break every day almost, and 1,000*l.* a-year become not worth 500*l.* He told me some ridiculous pieces of thrift of Sir G. Downing's, who is his countryman, in inviting some poor people, at Christmas last, to charm the country people's mouths ; but did give them nothing but beef, porridge, pudding, and pork, and nothing said all dinner, but only his mother³ would say, "It's good broth, son." He would answer, "Yes, it is good broth." Then, says his lady, "Confirm all, and say, Yes, very good broth." By and by she would begin

¹ Woolwich stones, still collected in that locality, are simply water-worn pebbles of flint, which, when broken with a hammer, exhibit on the smooth surface some resemblance to the human face ; and their possessors are thus enabled to trace likenesses of friends, or eminent public characters. Mr. Tennant, the geologist, of the Strand, has a collection of such stones. In the British Museum is a nodule of globular or Egyptian jasper, which, in its fracture, bears a striking resemblance to the well-known portrait of Chaucer. It is engraved in Rymsdyk's "*Museum Britannicum*," tab. xxviii. A flint, showing Mr. Pitt's face, used once to be exhibited at the meetings of the Pitt Club.

² Cambridgeshire.

³ Sir George Downing's mother was Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Robert Brett, D.D. His wife, Lady Downing, was Francis, fourth daughter of William Howard, of Naworth, and sister of Charles Howard, the first Earl of Carlisle of that family.

and say, "Good pork:" "Yes," says the mother, "good pork." Then he cries, "Yes, very good pork." And so they said of all things; to which nobody made any answer, they going there not out of love or esteem of them, but to eat his victuals, knowing him to be a niggardly fellow; and with this he is jeered now all over the country. Comes Captain Story, of Cambridge; to me, about a bill for prest money;¹ but, Lord! to see the natures of men; how this man, hearing of my name, did ask me of my country, and told me of my cozen Roger, that he was not so wise a man as his father; for that he do not agree in Parliament with his fellow burgesses and knights of the shire, whereas I know very well the reason; for he is not so high a flyer as Mr. Chichley and others, but loves the King better than any of them, and to better purpose. But yet, he says that he is a very honest gentleman, and thence runs into a hundred stories of his own services to the King, and how he at this day brings in the taxes before anybody here thinks they are collected: discourse very absurd to entertain a stranger with. Met Mr. Cooling, who tells me of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's being sent for last night, by a Serjeant at Armes,² to the Tower, for treasonable practices, and that the King is infinitely angry with him, and declared him no longer one of his Council. I know not the reason of it, or occasion. Took up my wife to the Exchange, and there bought things for Mr. Pierce's little daughter, my Valentine, and so to her house, where we find Knipp, who also challenged me for her Valentine. She looks well, sang well, and very merry we were for half an hour. Tells me Harris is well again, having been very ill. To Sir W. Pen's, and sat with my Lady, and the young

¹ Earnest money, given to a soldier who is enlisted.—BAILEY.

² Bearcroft; see 3rd March, *post*.

couple¹ (Sir William out of town) talking merrily ; but they make a very sorry couple, methinks, though rich.

28th. Up, and there comes to me Drumbleby with a flageolet, made to suit with my former and brings me one Greeting, a master, to teach my wife. I agree by the whole he is to teach her to take out any lesson of herself for 4 £ . Mr. Holliard dined with us, and pleasant company he is. I love his company, and he secures me against ever having the stone again. He gives it me, as his opinion, that the City will never be built again together, as is expected, while any restraint is laid upon them. He hath been a great loser, and would be a builder again, but, he says, he knows not what restricting there will be, so as it is unsafe for him to begin. He gone, I to my accounts, wherein, beyond expectation, I succeeded so well as to settle them very clear and plain, and, blessed be God, upon the evening my accounts, I do appear 6,800 £ . creditor. I did within these six days see smoke still remaining of the late fire in the City ; and it is strange to think how, to this very day, I cannot sleep at night without great terrors of fire. Thus this month is ended with great content of mind to me, thriving in my estate, and the affairs in my offices going pretty well as to myself. This afternoon Mr. Gauden² tells me more than I knew before—that he hath orders to get all the victuals he can to Plymouth, and the Western ports, and other out-ports, and some to Scotland, so that we do intend to keep but a flying fleete this year ; which, it may be, may preserve us a year longer, but the end of it must be ruin. Sir J. Minnes this night tells me, that he hears for certain, that ballads are made of us in Holland for begging of a peace ; which I expected,

¹ Anthony Lowther and his wife Margaret Penn.

² The victualler.

but am vexed at. So ends this month, with nothing of weight upon my mind, but for my father and mother, who are both very ill, and have been so for some weeks : whom God help ! but I do fear my poor father will hardly be ever thoroughly well again.

March 1st. Sent for to Sir G. Carteret to discourse of the business of the Navy, and our wants, and the best way of bestowing the little money we have, which is about 30,000*l.*, but, God knows, we have need of ten times as much, which do make my life unfortunate, I confess, on the King's behalf, though it is well enough as to my own particular, but the King's service is undone by it. In Mark Lane I do observe, it being St. David's day, the picture of a man dressed like a Welchman, hanging by the neck upon one of the poles that stand out at the top of one of the merchants' houses, in full proportion, and very handsomely done ; which is one of the oddest sights I have seen a good while.¹ Being returned home, I find Greeting, the flageolot-master, come, and teaching my wife ; and I do think my wife will take pleasure in it, and it will be easy for her, and pleasant. So to the office, and then before dinner making my wife to sing. Poor wretch ! her ear is so bad that it made me angry, till the poor wretch cried to see me so vexed at her, that I think I shall not discourage her so much again, but will endeavour to make her understand sounds, and do her good that way ; for she hath a great mind to learn, only to please me ; and, therefore, I am mighty unjust to her in discouraging her so much, but we were good friends. But I cannot but remember that just before dinner one of my people came up to me, and told me

¹ From "Poor Robin's Almanack" for 1757, it appears that, in former times in England, a Welshman was burnt in effigy on this anniversary. See Dyer's "British Popular Customs." (M. B.)

that a man come from Huntingdon would speak with me, how my heart came into my mouth doubting that my father, who has been long sicke, was dead. It put me into a trembling, but, blessed be God! it was no such thing, but a countryman come about ordinary business to me, to receive 50*l.* paid to my father for the Perkins's for their legacy. So though I get nothing at present, at least by the estate, I am fain to pay the money rather than rob my father. I hear to-day that Tom Woodall, the known chyrurgeon, is killed at Somerset House by a Frenchman in a drunken quarrel.

2nd. Sir W. Pen this day did bring an order from the Duke of York for our receiving from him a small vessel for a fireship, and taking away a better of the King's for it, it being expressed for his great service to the King. This I am glad of, not for his sake, but that it will give me a better ground, I believe, to ask something for myself of this kind, which I was fearful to begin. This do make Sir W. Pen the most kind to me that can be. I suppose it is, lest it should find any opposition from me, but will not oppose, but promote it. After dinner, with my wife, to the King's house to see "The Maiden Queene," a new play of Dryden's, mightily commended for the regularity of it, and the strain and wit; and, the truth is, there is a comical part done by Nell, which is Florimell, that I never can hope ever to see the like done again, by man or woman. The King and Duke of York were at the play. But so great performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the world before as Nell do this, both as a mad girle, then most and best of all when she comes in like a young gallant; and hath the motions and carriage of a spark the most that ever I saw any man have. It makes me, I confess, admire her.

3rd. (Lord's day.) To White Hall, where, walking

in the galleries, I met Mr. Pierce, who tells me the story of Tom Woodall, the surgeon, killed in a drunken quarrel, and how the Duke of York hath a mind to get him [Pierce] one of his places in St. Thomas's Hospitall. It is believed that the Dutch will yield to have the treaty at London or Dover, neither of which will get our King any credit, we having already consented to have it at the Hague; which, it seems, De Witt opposed, as a thing wherein the King of England must needs have some profound design, which in my conscience he hath not. They do also tell me that newes is this day come to the King, that the King of France is come with his army to the frontiers of Flanders, demanding leave to pass through their country towards Poland, but is denied, and thereupon that he is gone into the country. How true this is I dare not believe till I hear more. I walked into the Parke, it being a fine but very cold day; and there took two or three turns the length of the Pell Mell: and there I met Serjeant Bearcroft, who was sent for the Duke of Buckingham, to have brought him prisoner to the Tower. He came to towne this day, and brings word that, being overtaken and outrid by the Duchesse of Buckingham within a few miles of Westhorp,¹ he believes she got thither about a quarter of an hour before him, and so had time to consider; so that, when he came, the doors were kept shut against him. The next day, coming with officers of the neighbour market-town to force open the doors, they were open for him, but the Duke gone; so he took horse presently, and heard upon the road that the Duke of Buckingham was gone before him for London: so that he believes

¹ Westhorpe, in Suffolk, originally the magnificent residence of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk: it was probably afterwards granted by the Crown to the Duke of Buckingham. The house has long since been demolished.

he is this day also come to towne before him ; but no newes is yet heard of him. This is all he brings. Thence to my Lord Chancellor's, and there, meeting Sir H. Cholmly, he and I walked in my Lord's garden, and talked ; and, among other things, of the treaty : and he says there will certainly be a peace, but I cannot believe it. He tells me that the Duke of Buckingham his crimes, as far as he knows, are his being of a caball with some discontented persons of the late House of Commons, and opposing the desires of the King in all his matters in that House ; and endeavouring to become popular, and advising how the Commons' House should proceed, and how he would order the House of Lords. And that he hath been endeavouring to have the King's nativity calculated ; which was done, and the fellow now in the Tower about it ; which itself hath heretofore, as he says, been held treason, and people died for it ; but by the Statute of Treason, in Queen Mary's times and since, it hath been left out. He tells me that this silly Lord hath provoked, by his ill-carriage, the Duke of York, my Lord Chancellor, and all the great persons ; and therefore, most likely, will die. He tells me, too, many practices of treachery against this King ; as betraying him in Scotland, and giving Oliver an account of the King's private councils ; which the King knows very well, and hath yet pardoned him. I home, and there to read very good things in Fuller's " Church History and Worthies," and so to supper, and after supper had much good discourse with W. Hewer about the ticket office and the knaveries and extortions every day used there, and particularly of the business of Mr. Carcase, whom I fear I shall find a very rogue.

4th. Up and with Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten, by barge to Deptford to look after business there and so to Woolwich, where our business was chiefly to look upon the ballast wharfe there, which is offered

us for the King's use to hire, but we do not think it worth the laying out much money upon, unless we could buy the fee-simple of it, which cannot be sold us, so we wholly flung it off. So home and upon Tower Hill meeting with my old acquaintance Mr. Chaplin, the cheesemonger, he tells me for certain the King of France is denied passage with his army through Flanders, and that he hears that the Dutch do stand upon high terms with us, and will have a promise of not being obliged to strike the flag to us before they will treat with us, and other high things, which I am ashamed of and do hope will never be yielded to. That they do make all imaginable preparations, but that he believes they will be in mighty want of men.

5th. To the office and there all the afternoon late doing much business and then to see Sir W. Batten. I by discourse do perceive he and his Lady are to their hearts out with my Lord Brouncker and Mrs. Williams, to which I added something, but, I think, did not venture too far with them. But, Lord! to see to what a poor content any acquaintance among these people, or the people of the world, as they now-a-days go, is worth; for my part I and my wife will keep to one another and let the world go hang, for there is nothing but falseness in it. So home to supper and hear my wife and girle sing a little and then to bed with much content of mind.

6th. To White Hall; and here the Duke of York did acquaint us, and the King did the like also, afterwards coming in, with his resolution of altering the manner of the war this year: that is, we shall keep what fleete we have abroad in several squadrons: so that now all is come out; but we are to keep it as close as we can, without hindering the work that is to be done in preparation to this. Great preparations there are to fortify Sheernesse and the yard at Ports-

mouth, and forces are drawing down to both those places, and elsewhere by the seaside; so that we have some fear of an invasion; and the Duke of York himself did declare his expectation of the enemy's blocking us up here in the River, and therefore directed that we should send away all the ships that we have to fit out hence. Sir W. Pen told me, going with me this morning to White Hall, that for certain the Duke of Buckingham is brought into the Tower, and that he hath had an hour's private conference with the King before he was sent thither. Every body complains of the dearness of coals, being at 4*l.* per chaldron, the weather, too, being become most bitter cold, the King saying to-day that it was the coldest day he ever knew in England. Thence by coach to my Lord Crew's, where very welcome. Here I find they are in doubt where the Duke of Buckingham is; which makes me mightily reflect on the uncertainty of all history, when, in a business of this moment, and of this day's growth, we cannot tell the truth. Here dined my old acquaintance, Mr. Borfett, that was my Lord Sandwich's chaplain, and my Lady Wright and Dr. Boreman, who is preacher at St. Gyles's in the Fields, who, after dinner, did give my Lord an account of two papist women lately converted, whereof one wrote her recantation, which he showed under her own hand mightily well drawn, so as my Lord desired a copy of it, after he had satisfied himself from the Dr., that to his knowledge she was not a woman under any necessity. To Deptford, and then by water home, wondrous cold, and reading a ridiculous ballad made in praise of the Duke of Albemarle, to the tune of St. George, the tune being printed, too; and I observe that people have great encouragement to make ballads of him of this kind. There are so many, that hereafter he will sound like Guy of Warwicke. To Sir H. Cholmly's,

a pretty house, and a fine, worthy, well-disposed gentleman he is. He tells me, among other things, that he hears of little hopes of a peace, their demands being so high as we shall never grant, and could tell me that we shall keep no fleete abroad this year, but only squadrons. And, among other things, that my Lord Bellassis, he believes, will lose his command of Tangier by his corrupt covetous ways of endeavouring to sell his command, which I am glad of, for he is a man of no worth in the world but compliment. So to the 'Change, and there bought 32s. worth of things for Mrs. Knipp, my Valentine, which is pretty to see how my wife is come to convention with me, that, whatever I do give to anybody else, I shall give her as much.

7th. Hearing that Knipp is at my house, I home, and it is about a ticket for a friend of her's. I do love the humour of the jade very well. To Devonshire House,¹ to a burial of a kinsman of Sir R. Viner's; and there I received a ring. To the Duke's playhouse, and saw "The English Princesse, or Richard the Third;"² a most sad, melancholy play, and pretty good; but nothing eminent in it, as some tragedys are; only little Miss Davis³ did dance a jig

¹ Devonshire House was in Bishopsgate Street, where Devonshire Square now stands.

² A tragedy, by J. Caryl.

³ Mary Davis, some time a comedian in the Duke of York's troop, and one of those actresses who boarded with Sir W. Davenant, was, according to Pepys, a natural daughter of Thomas Howard, first Earl of Berkshire. She captivated the King by the charming manner in which she sang a ballad beginning, "My lodging it is on the cold ground," when acting Celania, a shepherdess mad for love in the play of "The Rivals." Charles took her off the stage, and she had by him a daughter named Mary Tudor, married to Francis, second Earl of Derwentwater; and their son James, the third Earl, was attainted and beheaded for high treason. Miss Davis was also a fine dancer: see Hawkins's "History of Music," vol. iv. p. 525, where the ballad alluded to will be found; which,

after the end of the play, and there telling the next day's play; so that it came in by force only to please the company to see her dance in boys' clothes; and, the truth is, there is no comparison between Nell's dancing the other day¹ at the King's house in boy's clothes and this, this being infinitely beyond the other. This day, Commissioner Taylor came to me for advice, and would force me to take ten pieces in gold of him, which I had no mind to, he being become one of our number at the Board. This day was reckoned by all people the coldest day that ever was remembered in England; and, God knows! coals at a very great price.²

8th. To Westminster Hall, where I saw Mr. Martin, the purser, come through with a picture in his hand, which he had bought, and observed how all the people of the Hall did flee and laugh upon him, crying, "There is plenty grown upon a sudden;" and, the truth is, I was a little troubled that my favour should fall on so vain a fellow as he, and the more because, methought, the people do gaze upon me as the man that had raised him, and as if they guessed whence my kindness to him springs. To White Hall, where I find all met at the Duke of York's chamber; and, by and by, the Duke of York

as Downes quaintly observes, "raised the fair songstress from her bed on the cold ground to the bed royal." According to another account, she was the daughter of a blacksmith at Charlton, in Wiltshire, where a family of the name of Davis had exercised that calling for many generations, and has but lately become extinct. There is a beautiful whole-length portrait of Mary Davis, by Kneller, at Audley End, in which she is represented as a tall, handsome woman; and her general appearance ill accords with the description given of her by our Journalist.

¹ As Florimel, in "The Maiden Queen."

² 4*l.* the chaldron. On Nov. 26th, *post*, he speaks of them as being 5*l.* 10*s.* In 1812, "Napoleon's winter," 6*l.* 6*s.* were paid in the suburbs of London; an extraordinary price; but, the difference of money considered, cheap, when compared with 1667.

comes, and Carcassee is called in, and I read the depositions and his answers, and he added with great confidence and good words, even almost to persuasion, what to say ; and my Lord Brouncker, like a very silly solicitor, argued against me, and all for him ; and, being asked first by the Duke of York his opinion, did give it for his being excused. I next did answer the contrary very plainly, and had, in this dispute, which vexed and will never be forgot by my Lord, many occasions of speaking severely, and did, against his bad practices. Commissioner Pett, like a fawning rogue, sided with my Lord, but to no purpose ; and Sir W. Pen, like a cunning rogue, spoke mighty indifferently, and said nothing in all the fray, like a knave as he is. But Sir W. Batten spoke out, and did come off himself by the Duke's kindness very well ; and then Sir G. Carteret, and Sir W. Coventry, and the Duke of York himself, flatly as I said ; and so he¹ was declared unfit to continue in, and therefore to be presently discharged the office ; which, among other good effects, I hope, will make my Lord Brouncker not *alloquer* so high. Sir H. Cholmly and I to the Temple, and there parted, he telling me of my Lord Bellassis's want of generosity, and that he [Bellassis] will certainly be turned out of his government, and he [Cholmley] thinks himself stands fair for it. So home, and there found, as I expected, Mrs. Pierce and Mr. Batelier, but no Mrs. Knipp come, which vexed me. So with one fiddler we danced away the evening, but I was not well contented with the littleness of the room, and my wife's want of preparing things ready, as they should be, for supper.

9th. To the office, where a meeting extraordinary about settling the number and wages of my Lord

¹ Carcassee's dismissal from office is clearly alluded to in his verses. See *ante*, Sept. 2, 1666, note.

Brouncker's clerks for his new work upon the Treasurer's accounts. He is most dissatisfied with me, and I am not sorry for it, having all the world but him on my side therein. He did speak many severe words to me, and I returned as many to him, so that I do think there cannot for a great while be any right peace between us; but however, I must look about me and mind my business, for I perceive by his threats and enquiries he will endeavour to find out something against me or mine. Captain Cocke, who was here to-night, did tell us that he is certain that yesterday a proclamation was voted at the Council, touching the proclaiming of my Lord Duke of Buckingham a traytor, and that it will be out on Monday.

10th. (Lord's day.) Yesterday the King did publicly talk of the King of France's dealing with all the Princes of Christendome. As to the States of Holland, he [the King of France] hath advised them, on good grounds, to refuse to treat with us at the Hague, because of having opportunity of spies, by reason of our interest in the House of Orange; and then, it being a town in one particular province, it would not be fit to have it, but in a town wherein the provinces have equal interest, as at Maastricht, and other places named. That he advises them to offer no terms, nor accept of any, without his privity and consent, according to agreement; and tells them, if not so, he hath in his power to be even with them, the King of England being come to offer any terms he pleases: and that my Lord St. Albans is now at Paris, Plenipotentiary, to make what peace he pleases; and so he can make it, and exclude them, the Dutch, if he sees fit. A copy of this letter of the King of France's the Spanish Ambassador here gets, and comes and tells all to our King; which our King denies, and says the King of France only uses his power of saying anything. At the same time, the King

of France writes to the Emperor, that he is resolved to do all things to express affection to the Emperor, having it now in his power to make what peace he pleases between the King of England and him, and the states of the United Provinces; and, therefore, that he would not have him concern himself in a friendship with us; and assures him that, on that regard, he will not offer anything to his disturbance, in his interest in Flanders, or elsewhere. He writes, at the same time, to Spayne, to tell him that he wonders to hear of a league almost ended between the Crown of Spayne and England, by my Lord Sandwich, and all without his privity, while he was making a peace upon what terms he pleased with England: that he is a great lover of the Crown of Spayne, and would take the King and his affairs, during his minority, into his protection, nor would offer to set his foot in Flanders, or any where else, to disturb him; and, therefore, would not have him to trouble himself to make peace with any body; only he hath a desire to offer an exchange, which he thinks may be of moment to both sides: that is, that he [France] will enstate the King of Spayne in the kingdom of Portugall, and he and the Dutch will put him into possession of Lisbon; and, that being done, he [France] may have Flanders: and this, they say, do mightily take in Spayne, which is sensible of the fruitless expence Flanders, so far off, gives them; and how much better it would be for them to be master of Portugall; and the King of France offers, for security herein, that the King of England shall be bond for him, and that he will counter-secure the King of England with Amsterdam; and, it seems, hath assured our King, that if he will make a league with him, he will make a peace exclusive to the Hollander. These things are almost romantique, but yet true, as Sir H. Cholmly tells me the King him-

self did relate it all yesterday; and it seems as if the King of France did think other princes fit for nothing but to make sport for him: but simple princes they are, that are forced to suffer this from him.

11th. The proclamation is this day come out against the Duke of Buckingham, commanding him to come in to one of the Secretaries, or to the Lieutenant of the Tower. A silly, vain man to bring himself to this: and there be many hard circumstances in the proclamation of the causes of this proceeding of the King's, which speak great displeasure of the King's, and crimes of his.

12th. Up, and to the office, where all the morning. At noon home, and there find Mr. Goodgroome, whose teaching of my wife only by singing over and over again to her, and letting her sing with him, not by herself, to correct her faults, I do not like at all, but was angry at it; but have this content, that I do think she will come to sing pretty well, and to trill in time, which pleases me well. This day a poor seaman, almost starved for want of food, lay in our yard a-dying. I sent him half-a-crown, and we ordered his ticket to be paid.

13th. Having done our usual business with the Duke of York, I away; and meeting Mr. D. Gauden in the presence-chamber, he and I to talk; and among other things he tells me, and I do find every where else, also, that our masters do begin not to like of their councils in fitting out no fleete, but only squadrons, and are finding out excuses for it; and, among others, he tells me a Privy-Councillor did tell him that it was said in Council that a fleete could not be sent out this year, for want of victuals, which gives him and me great alarme, but me especially: for had it been so, I ought to have represented it; and therefore it put me in policy presently to prepare myself to answer this objection, if ever it should come about,

by drawing up a state of the Victualler's stores, which I will presently do. So to Sir G. Carteret's, where I dined with the ladies, and very well used I am among them, so that I am heartily ashamed that my wife has not been there to see them ; but she shall very shortly. Late at my office preparing a speech against to-morrow morning, before the King, at my Lord Treasurer's. The Duke of Buckingham is concluded gone over sea, and, it is thought, to France.

14th. To my Lord Treasurer's. Here we fell into discourse with Sir Stephen Fox, and, among other things, of the Spanish manner of walking, when three together, and showed me how, which was pretty, to prevent differences. By and by comes the King and Duke of York, and presently the officers of the Ordnance were called ; my Lord Berkeley, Sir John Duncomb, and Mr. Chichly ; then we, my Lord Brouncker, W. Batten, W. Pen, and myself ; where we find only the King and Duke of York, and my Lord Treasurer, and Sir G. Carteret ; when I only did speak, laying down the state of our wants, which the King and Duke of York seemed very well pleased with, and we did get what we asked, 500,000*l.*, assigned upon the eleven months' tax : but that is not so much ready money, or what will raise 40,000*l.* per week, which we desired, and the business will want. Yet are we fain to come away answered, when, God knows, it will undo the King's business to have matters of this moment put off in this manner. The King did prevent my offering any thing by and by as Treasurer for Tangier, telling me that he had ordered us 30,000*l.* on the same tax ; but that is not what we would have to bring our payments to come within a year. So we gone out, in went others ; viz., one after another, Sir Stephen Fox for the army, Captain Cocke for sick and wounded, Mr. Ashburn-

ham¹ for the household. Thence Sir W. Batten, Sir W. Pen, and I, back again ; I mightily pleased with what I had said and done, and the success thereof. But, it being a fine clear day, I did, *en gayeté de cœur*, propose going to Bow for ayre sake, and dine there, which they embraced, and so Sir W. Batten and I straight to Bow, to the Queen's Head, and there bespoke our dinner, carrying meat with us from London ; and anon comes Sir W. Pen with my wife and Lady Batten, and then Mr. Lowther with his mother and wife. While Sir W. Batten and I were alone, we had much friendly discourse, though I will never trust him far ; but we do propose getting " The Flying Greyhound " our privateer, to us and Sir W. Pen at the end of the year when we call her home, by begging her of the King, and I do not think we shall be denied her. They being come, we to oysters and so to talk, very pleasant I was all day, and anon to dinner, and I made very good company. Here till the evening, so as it was dark almost before we got home. Troubled a little at my fear that my Lord Brouncker should tell Sir W. Coventry of our neglecting the office this afternoon to look after our pleasures, but nothing will fall upon me alone about this.

15th. Letters this day come to Court do tell us that we are not likely to agree, the Dutch demanding high terms, and the King of France the like, in a most braving manner. The merchants do give themselves for lost, no man knowing what to do, whether to sell or buy, not knowing whether peace or war to expect, and I am told that could that be now known a man might get 20,000*l.* in a week's time by buying up of goods in case there should be war. So away and met Dr. Fuller, Bishop of Limericke, and

¹ Wm. Ashburnham, the Cofferer.

walked an hour with him in the Court talking of newes only, and he do think that matters will be bad with us. This morning I was called up by Sir John Winter, poor man! come in his sedan from the other end of the town, about helping the King in the business of bringing down his timber to the sea-side, in the Forest of Deane.

16th. The weather is now grown warm again, after much cold; and it is observable that within these eight days I did see smoke remaining, coming out of some cellars, from the late great fire, now above six months since.

17th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall Chapel. There I put my wife in the pew below, but it was pretty to see, myself being but in a plain band, and every way else ordinary, how the verger took me for her man, and I was fain to tell him she was a kinswoman of my Lord Sandwich's, he saying that none under knights-baronets' ladies are to go into that pew. I to the Duke of York's lodging, where in his dressing-chamber he talking of his journey to-morrow or next day to Harwich, to prepare some fortifications there; so that we are wholly upon the defensive part this year. I to walk in the Parke, where to the Queen's Chapel, and there heard a fryer preach with his cord about his middle, in Portuguese, something I could understand, showing that God did respect the meek and humble, as well as the high and the rich. He was full of action, but very decent and good, I thought, and his manner of delivery very good. Then I went back to White Hall, and there up to the closet, and spoke with several people till sermon was ended, which was preached by the Bishop of Hereford,¹ an old good man, that they say made an

¹ Bishop Herbert Croft, who was previously Dean of Hereford (1644), was not a Romanist by birth, but entangled by the Jesuits while on his travels, and converted to Popery. It would appear, from

excellent sermon. He was by birth a Catholique, and a great gallant, having 1500*l.* per annum, patrimony, and is a Knight Baronet; was turned from his persuasion by the late Archbishop Laud. He and the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. Ward, are the two Bishops that the King do say he cannot have bad sermons from. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me, that undoubtedly my Lord Bellassis do go no more to Tangier, and that he do believe he do stand in a likely way to go Governor; though he says, and showed me, a young silly Lord, one Lord Allington,¹ who hath offered a great sum of money to go, and will put hard for it, he having a fine lady,² and a great man would be glad to have him out of the way. After Chapel with my wife to Sir G. Carterets, where we dined and mightily made of and most extraordinary people they are to continue friendship with for goodness, virtue and nobleness and interest. After dinner he and I alone awhile and did joy ourselves in my Lord Sandwich's being out of the way all this time. He concurs that we are in a way of ruin by thus being forced to keep only small squadrons out, but do tell me that it was not choice, but only force

Godwin (*De Præsulibus*), that his return to the Protestant faith is not attributable to Laud, but to the efforts of another prelate. "In patriam vero redux et in Thomæ Mortoni Episcopi Dunelmensis familiaritatem adductus melioribus consiliis adhibitis ad se quoque rediit et Ecclesiam Anglicanam." Croft, says Burnet, was a devout man, but of no discretion in his conduct. He was born 1603, and survived his elevation to the See of Hereford, in 1661, thirty years. The Bishop's father, Sir Herbert, was a knight, and his son, of the same name, a baronet. See Sir Walter Scott's preface to "The Naked Truth," in Somers's "Tracts," vol. vii. p. 268.

¹ William Alington, second Baron Alington, of Killard, Ireland, created an English Baron, 1682, by the title of Baron Alington, of Wymondley, Hertfordshire, which title became extinct in 1692.

² His second wife, Juliana, daughter of Baptist Noel, Viscount Campden. She died the September following.

that we could not keep out the whole fleete. He tells me that the King is very kind to my Lord Sandwich, and did himself observe to him (Sir G. Carteret), how those very people, meaning the Prince and Duke of Albemarle, are punished in the same kind as they did seek to abuse my Lord Sandwich. Took coach and home where I found Mercer, who I was glad to see, but durst not show so, my wife being displeased with her, and indeed I fear she is grown a very gossip.

18th, Comes my old good friend, Mr. Richard Cumberland,¹ to see me, being newly come to town, whom I have not seen almost, if not quite, these seven years. In his plain country-parson's dress. I could not spend much time with him, but prayed him to come with his brother, who was with him, to dine with me to-day; which he did do: and I had a great deal of his good company; and a most excellent person he is as any I know, and one that I am sorry should be lost and buried in a little country town, and would be glad to remove him thence; and the truth is, if he would accept of my sister's fortune, I should give 100*l.* more with him than to a man able to settle her four times as much as, I fear, he is able to do; and I will think of it, and a way how to move it, he having in discourse said he was not against marrying, nor yet engaged. Comes Captain Jenifer to me, a great servant of my Lord Sandwich's, who tells me that he do hear for certain, though I do not yet believe it, that Sir W. Coventry is to be Secretary of State, and my Lord Arlington Lord Treasurer. I only wish that the latter were as fit for the latter office as the former is for the former, and more fit than my Lord Arlington. Anon Sir W. Pen came and talked with me in the garden, and tells me that

¹ Richard Cumberland, educated at St. Paul's School, and Magdalene College, Cambridge; made Bishop of Peterborough, 1691. Ob. 1718, aged 86.

for certain the Duke of Richmond is to marry Mrs. Stewart, he having this day brought in an account of his estate and debts to the King on that account. My father's letter this day do tell me of his own continued illness, and that my mother grows so much worse, that he fears she cannot long continue, which troubles me very much. This day, Mr. Cæsar told me a pretty experiment of his, of angling with a minnikin, a gut-string varnished over, which keeps it from swelling, and is beyond any hair for strength and smallness. The secret I like mightily.

19th. It comes in my mind this night to set down how a house was the other day in Bishopsgate Street blowed up with powder; a house that was untenanted; but, thanks be to God, it did no more hurt; and all do conclude it a plot. This afternoon I am told again that the town do talk of my Lord Arlington's being to be Lord Treasurer, and Sir W. Coventry to be Secretary of State; and that for certain the match is concluded between the Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stewart, which I am well enough pleased with; and it is pretty to consider how his quality will allay people's talk; whereas, had a meaner person married her, he would for certain have been reckoned a cuckold at first dash.

20th. To our church to the vestry, to be assessed by the late Poll Bill, where I am rated as an Esquire,¹ and for my office, all will come to about 50*l*. But not more than I expected, nor so much by a great deal as I ought to be, for all my offices. So shall be glad to escape so. Thence by water again to White Hall and there do hear that newes is come now that the enemy do incline again to a peace, but could hear no particulars, so do not believe it. I had a great mind to have spoke with the King about a business proper

¹ See March 25, 1660.

enough for me, about the French prize man-of-war, how he would have her altered, only out of a desire to show myself mindful of business, but my linen was so dirty and my clothes mean, that I neither thought it fit to do that, nor go to other persons at the Court, with whom I had business, which did vex me, and I must remedy it. Here I hear that the Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stewart were betrothed last night. So to Sir W. Batten's to dinner, and had a good dinner of ling and herring pie, very good meat, best of the kind that ever I had. To the Temple, and there did buy a little book or two, and it is strange how "Rycaut's¹ Discourse of Turkey," which before the fire I was asked but 8s. for, there being all but twenty-two or thereabouts burned, I did now offer 20s., and he demands 50s., and I think I shall give it him, though it be only as a monument of the fire. So to the New Exchange, and took up my wife, and to Polichinello's at Charing Crosse, which is prettier and prettier, and so full of variety that it is extraordinary good entertainment. So home to the office a little, where I met with a sad letter from my brother, who tells me my mother is declared by the doctors to be past recovery, and that my father is also very ill: so that I fear we shall see a sudden change there. God fit them and us for it! So to Sir W. Pen's, where my wife was, and supped with a little, but yet little mirth, and a bad, nasty supper, which makes me not love the family, they do all things so meanly, to make a little bad show upon their backs.

21st. At noon home to dinner, and had some melancholy discourse with my wife about my mother's being so ill and my father, and after dinner to cheer myself I alone out and to the Duke of York's play-

¹ Sir Paul Rycaut.

house, where unexpectedly I came to see only the young men and women of the house act; they having liberty to act for their own profit on Wednesdays and Fridays this Lent: and the play they did yesterday, being Wednesday, was so well-taken, that they thought fit to venture it publickly to-day; a play of my Lord Falkland's¹ called "The Wedding Night," a kind of a tragedy, and some things very good in it, but the whole together, I thought, not so. I confess I was well enough pleased with my seeing it: and the people did do better, without the great actors, than I did expect, but yet far short of what they do when they are there. Thence to rights home, and there to the office to my business hard, being sorry to have made this scape without my wife, but I have a good salve to my oath in doing it. Our trial for a good prize came on to-day, "The Phoenix,"² worth two or 3,000*l.*," when by and by Sir W. Batten told me we had got the day, which was mighty welcome news to me and us all. But it is pretty to see what money will do. Yesterday, Walker³ was mighty cold on our behalf, till Sir W. Batten promised him, if we sped in this business of the goods, a coach; and if at the next trial we sped for the ship, we would give him a pair of horses. And he hath strove for us to-day like a prince, though the Swedes' Agent was there with all the vehemence he could to save the goods, but yet we carried it against him.

22nd. My wife having dressed herself in a silly dress of a blue petticoat uppermost, and a white

¹ Henry Carey, third Viscount Falkland, M.P. for Arundel, 1661. Ob. 1664.

² In 1689 the House of Commons appointed a Committee to investigate the conduct of Pepys and Sir Josiah Child in the business of the Phoenix. The proceedings are to be found in Rawlinson, A 170.

³ Sir W. Walker.

satin waistcoat and white hood, though I think she did it because her gown is gone to the tailor's, did, together with my being hungry, which always makes me peevish, make me angry, but after dinner friends again, and then by water down to Greenwich and thence walked to Woolwich, all the way reading Playford's "Introduction to Musique," wherein are some things very pretty. At Woolwich I did much business, taking account of the ships there, thence to Blackwall and then to Deptford and did the like and so home. I met on Tower Hill with Captain Cocke and spent half an hour walking with him, talking of the sorrowful condition we are in, that we must be ruined if the Parliament do not come and chastize us, that we are resolved to make a peace whatever it cost, that the King is disobliging the Parliament in this interval all that may be, yet his money is gone and he must have more, and they likely not to give it, without a great deal of do. God knows what the issue of it will be. But the considering that the Duke of York, instead of being at sea as Admirall, is now going from port to port, as he is this day at Harwich, and was the other day with the King at Sheerness, and hath ordered at Portsmouth how fortifications shall be made to oppose the enemy, in case of invasion, is to us a sad consideration, and shameful to the nation, especially for so many proud vaunts as we have made against the Dutch, and all from the folly of the Duke of Albemarle, who made nothing of beating them, and Sir John Lawson he always declared that we never did fail to beat them with lesser numbers than theirs, which did so prevail with the King as to throw us into this war.

23rd. At the office, where Sir W. Pen came, being returned from Chatham, from considering the means of fortifying the river Medway, by a chain at the

stakes, and ships laid there with guns to keep the enemy from coming up to burn our ships; all our care now being to fortify ourselves against their invading us. Vexed with our mayde Luce, our cook-mayde, who is a good drudging servant in everything else, and pleases us, but that she will be drunk, and hath been so last night and all this day, that she could not make clean the house. My fear is only fire.

24th. (Lord's day.) With Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes: and they did talk of my Lord Brouncker,¹ whose father, it seems, did give Mr. Ashburnham and the present Lord Bristoll 1,200*l.* to be made an Irish lord, and swore the same day that he had not 12*d.* left to pay for his dinner: they made great mirth at this, my Lord Brouncker having lately given

¹ Sir William Brouncker had been Commissary-General of the Musters in the Scotch expedition in 1639, Vice-Chamberlain to Prince Charles, and one of the Gentlemen of his Privy Chamber to Charles I. He was the son of Sir Henry Brouncker, President of Munster, by Anne, sister to Henry Lord Morley, and was created Viscount Brouncker, of Castle Lyons, in Ireland, and Baron Brouncker, of Newcastle, co. Dublin, 12th Sept. 1645. He died in November following, and was buried in the Cathedral of Christ Church, Oxford, leaving issue by his wife Winifred, daughter of Sir William Leigh, of Newenham, Warwickshire, two sons, William, before-mentioned, and Henry, third and last Viscount Brouncker, who died in 1688, and was buried in Richmond Church, leaving no issue by his wife Rebecca, widow of the Hon. Thomas Jermyn, mother, by her first husband, of the Lords Jermyn and Dover. Henry Brouncker, who had been Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Duke of York, had succeeded to the office of Cofferer on the death of William Ashburnham, in 1671. The Lords Brouncker were descended from Henry Brouncker, who, in 1544, bought lands at Melksham and Erlestoke, in Wilts; and his arms, and those of his two wives, are described by Aubrey as being on the window of a house at Erlestoke. *Ex. Inform. Miss Henrietta Brouncker*, whose eldest brother, Richard Brouncker, considers himself as the representative of the family. He has two young sons; and his estate is at Boveridge, Dorset, on the borders of Wilts. See 13th Aug. 1662.

great matter of offence both to them and us all, that we are at present mightily displeased with him. By and by to the Duke of York, where we all met, and there was the King also; and all our discourse was about fortifying of the Medway and Harwich, which is to be entrenched quite round, and Portsmouth: and here they advised with Sir Godfrey Lloyd¹ and Sir Bernard de Gum,² the two great engineers, and had the plates drawn before them; and indeed all their care they now take is to fortify themselves, and are not ashamed of it; for when by and by my Lord Arlington came in with letters, and seeing the King and Duke of York give us and the officers of the Ordnance directions in this matter, he did move that we might do it as privately as we could, that it might not come into the Dutch Gazette presently, as the King's and Duke of York's going down the other day to Sheerensse was, the week after, in the Harlem Gazette. The King and Duke of York both laughed at it, and made no matter, but said, "Let us be safe, and let them talk, for there is nothing will trouble them more, nor will prevent their coming more, than to hear that we are fortifying ourselves." And the Duke of York said further, "What said Marshal Turenne, when some in vanity said that the enemies were afraid, for they entrenched themselves? 'Well,' says he, 'I would they were not afraid, for

¹ Sir Godfrey Lloyd had been a Captain in Holland, and was knighted by Charles at Brussels, in 1657.

² Sir Bernard de Gomme was born at Lille, in 1620. When young, he served in the campaigns of Henry Frederic, Prince of Orange, and afterwards entered the service of Charles I., by whom he was knighted. Under Charles II. and James II., he filled the offices of Chief Engineer, Quarter-Master-General, and Surveyor of the Ordnance. He died November 23, 1685, and is buried in the Tower of London. He first fortified Sheerness, Liverpool, &c., and he strengthened Portsmouth. His plans of these places and others, and of some of Charles I.'s battles, are in the British Museum, where also is preserved a miniature portrait of him in oil.

then they would not entrench themselves, and so we could deal with them the better.'” Away thence, and met with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that he do believe the government of Tangier is bought by my Lord Allington for a sum of money to my Lord Arlington, and something to Lord Bellassis. Mightily troubled the most of the night with fears of fire, which I cannot get out of my head to this day since the last great fire. I did this night give the waterman who uses to carry me 10s. at his request, for the painting of his new boat, on which shall be my arms.

25th. Went over Mr. Povy's house, which lies in the same good condition as ever, which is most extraordinary fine, and he was now at work with a cabinet-maker, making of a new inlaid table. Called at Mr. Lilly's, who was working; and indeed his pictures are without doubt much beyond Mr. Hales's, I think I may say I am convinced: but a mighty proud man he is, and full of state. To the King's playhouse; and by and by comes Mr. Lowther and his wife and mine, and into a box, forsooth, neither of them being dressed, which I was almost ashamed of. Sir W. Pen and I in the pit, and here saw “The Mayden Queene” again; which indeed the more I see the more I like, and is an excellent play, and so done by Nell, her merry part, as cannot be better done in nature.

26th. I have cause to be joyful this day, for my being cut of the stone this day nine years, and through God's blessing am at this day and have been in as good condition of health as ever I was in my life or any man in England is. God make me thankful for it! But the condition I am in, in reference to my mother, makes it unfit for me to keep my usual feast. To Exeter House, where the Judge was sitting, and there heard our cause pleaded; Sir —— Turner,¹ Sir

¹ Sir Edward Turner, Solicitor-General.

W. Walker, and Sir Ellis Layton being our counsel against only Sir Robert Wiseman¹ on the other. The second of our three counsel was the best, and indeed did speak admirably, and is a very shrewd man. Nevertheless, as good as he did make our case, and the rest, yet when Wiseman came to argue, nay, and though he did begin so sillily that we laughed in scorn in our sleeves at him, he did so state the case, that the Judge² did not think fit to decide the cause to-night, but took to to-morrow, and did stagger us in our hopes, so as to make us despair of the success. I am mightily pleased with the Judge, who seems a very rational, learned, and uncorrupt man, though our success doth shake me.

27th. Sir W. Pen and I towards the Exchequer and in our way met Sir G. Downing, and he would go with us back to the Exchequer and showed us in his office his chests full and ground and shelves full of money, and says that there is 50,000*l.* at this day in his office of people's money, who may demand it this day and might have had it away several weeks ago upon the late Act, but do rather choose to have it continue there than to put it into the Banker's hands, and I must confess it is more than I should have believed had I not seen it, and more than I could have expected would have arisen for this new Act in so short a time. But it comes into my head here to observe what I have heard from Sir John Bankes, though I cannot fully conceive the reason of it, that it will be impossible to make the Exchequer ever a true bank to all intents, unless the Exchequer

¹ D.C.L., King's Advocate, 1669.

² Sir Leoline Jenkins, Principal of Jesus College, Oxford, and afterwards made Judge of the Admiralty and the Prerogative Court. He was subsequently employed on several embassies, and succeeded Henry Coventry as Secretary of State. Ob. 1685, aged 62. His State Papers have been published.

stood nearer the Exchange, where merchants might with ease, while they are going about their business, at all hours, and without trouble or loss of time, have their satisfaction, which they cannot have now without much trouble, and loss of half a day, and no certainty of having the offices open. To Westminster Hall and there met Balty, and did break the business of my getting him the place of going again as Muster-Master under Harman to the West Indys, which indeed I do owe to Sir W. Pen. He is mighty glad of it, but I do find, poor man, that he is troubled how to dispose of his wife, and apparently it is out of fear of her and his honour, and I believe he has received some cause of this his jealousy and care, and I do pity him in it, and will endeavour to find out some way to do it for him. To the Castle Taverne, by Exeter House; and there Sir Ellis Layton, whom I find a wonderful witty, ready man for sudden answers and little tales, and sayings very extraordinary witty. He did give me a full account, upon my demand, of this Judge of the Admiralty, Judge Jenkins; who, he says, is a man never practised in this Court, but taken merely for his merit and ability's sake from Trinity Hall, where he had always lived; only by accident the business of the want of a Judge being proposed to the present Archbishop of Canterbury, he did think of this man and sent for him up: and here he is, against the *gré* and content of the old Doctors, made Judge, but is a very excellent man both for judgment and temper, yet majesty enough, and by all men's report, not to be corrupted. After dinner to the Court, where Sir Ellis Layton did make a very silly motion in our behalf, but did neither hurt nor good. After him Walker and Wiseman; and then the Judge did pronounce his sentence; for some—a part of the goods and ship, and the freight of the whole, to be free, and returned and paid by us; and

the remaining, which was the greater part, to be ours. The loss of so much troubles us, but we have got a pretty good part, thanks be to God! Received from my brother the newes of my mother's dying on Monday, about five or six o'clock in the afternoon, and that the last time she spoke of her children was on Friday last, and her last words were, "God bless my poor Sam!" The reading hereof did set me a-weeping heartily, and so weeping to myself awhile, and my wife also to herself, I then spoke to my wife respecting myself, and indeed, having some thoughts how much better both for her and us it is than it might have been had she outlived my father and me or my happy present condition in the world, she being helpless, I was the sooner at ease in my mind, and then found it necessary to go abroad with my wife to look after the providing mourning to send into the country,—some to-morrow, and more against Sunday, for my family, being resolved to put myself and wife, and Barker and Jane, W. Hewer and Tom, in mourning, and my two under-mayds, to give them hoods and scarfs and gloves. So to my tailor's, and up and down, and then home, and to bed, my heart sad, though my judgment at ease.

28th. I down by water to our prize, part of whose goods were condemned yesterday—"The Linde-boome"—and there we did drink some of her wine, very good. But it did grate my heart to see the poor master come on board, and look about into every corner, and find fault that she was not so clean as she used to be, though methought she was very clean; and to see his new masters come in, that had nothing to do with her, did trouble me to see him. Thence to Blackwall and there to Mr. Johnson's, to see how some works upon some of our repaired ships go on, and at his house eat and drank and mighty extraordinary merry, too merry for me whose mother

died so lately, but they know it not, so cannot reproach me therein, though I reproach myself.

29th. To the office till noon; home and there find Balty and his wife got thither both by my wife for me to give them good advice, for her to be with his father and mother all this time of absence, for saving of money, and did plainly and like a friend tell them my mind of the necessity of saving money, and that if I did not find they did endeavour it, I should not think fit to trouble myself for them, but I see she is utterly against being with his father and mother, and so he do propose that it will be cheaper for him to put her to board at a place he is offered at Lee, and I having given him so much good advice do leave them to stand and fall as they please, having discharged myself as a friend. I do observe the great streets in the city are marked out with piles drove into the ground; and if ever it be built in that form with so fair streets, it will be a noble sight. To a periwig-maker's, and there bought two periwigs, mighty fine; indeed, too fine, I thought, for me; but he persuaded me, and I did buy them for 4*l.* 10*s.* the two. To the Bull-Head Taverne, whither was brought my French gun; and one Truelocke, the famous gunsmith, that is a mighty ingenious man, did take my gun in pieces, and made me understand the secrets thereof: and upon the whole I do find it a very good piece of work, and truly wrought; but for certain not a thing to be used much with safety: and he do find that this very gun was never yet shot off. Balty tells me strange stories of his mother. Among others, how she, in his absence in Holland, did pawne all the things that he had got in his service under Oliver, and run of her own accord, without her husband's leave, into Flanders, and that his purse, and 4*s.* a week which his father receives of the French church, is all the subsistence his father

and mother have, and that about 20*l.* a year maintains them;¹ which, if it please God, I will find one way or other to provide for them, to remove that scandal away.

30th. At noon home to dinner, thence with my wife's knowledge and leave to see the silly play of my Lady Newcastle's,² called "The Humourous Lovers;" the most silly thing that ever came upon a stage. I was sick to see it, but yet would not but have seen it, that I might the better understand her. Here I spied Knipp and Betty,³ of the King's house, and sent Knipp oranges, but, having little money about me, did not offer to carry them abroad, which otherwise I had, I fear, been tempted to. So to my office, where, among other things, a most extraordinary letter to the Duke of York touching the want of money and the sad state of the King's service thereby.

31st. (Lord's day.) To church; and with my mourning, very handsome, and new periwig, make a great show. Walked to my Lord Treasurer's, where the King, Duke of York, and the Caball, and much company without; and a fine day. Anon come out from the Caball my Lord Hollis and Mr. H. Coventry,⁴ who, it is conceived, have received their instructions from the King this day; they being to begin their journey towards their treaty at Bredah speedily, their passes being come. Here I saw the Lady Northumberland⁵

¹ This seems to prove that Mrs. Pepys's mother had married again.

² Margaret, daughter of Thomas Lucas, of Colchester, and sister to John Lord Lucas, married William Cavendish, Marquis of Newcastle, created a Duke, 1664.

³ Betty Hall. See 23rd January, 1666-7.

⁴ See 14th February, 1666-7, *ante*.

⁵ Lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of Theophilus Howard, second Earl of Suffolk, wife of Algernon, tenth Earl of Northumberland.

and her daughter-in-law, my Lord Treasurer's daughter, my Lady Piercy,¹ a beautiful lady indeed. The month shuts up only with great desires of peace in all of us, and a belief that we shall have a peace, in most people, if it can be had on any terms, for there is a necessity of it ; for we cannot go on with the war, and our masters are afraid to come to depend upon the good will of the Parliament any more, as I do hear.

April 1st. To White Hall, and there had the good fortune to walk with Sir W. Coventry into the garden, and there read our melancholy letter to the Duke of York, which he likes. And so to talk : and he flatly owns that we must have a peace, for we cannot set out a fleete ;² and, to use his own words, he fears that we shall soon have enough of fighting in this new way, which we have thought on for this year. He bemoans the want of money, and discovers himself jealous that Sir G. Carteret do not look after, or concern himself for getting, money ; and did further say, that he [Carteret] and my Lord Chancellor do at this very day labour all they can to villify this new way of raising money, and making it payable, as it now is, into the Exchequer ; and that in pursuance hereof, my Lord Chancellor hath prevailed with the King, in the close of his speech to the House, to say, that he did hope to see them come to give money as it used to be given, without so many provisos, meaning this new method of the Act. While we

¹ Lady Elizabeth Wriothesley, daughter and co-heir to the last Earl of Southampton, married to Joscelin Lord Percy.

² Evelyn ("Diary," July 29, 1667) says that it was owing to Sir William Coventry that no fleet was fitted out in 1667. His unpopularity after the burning of the fleet at Chatham by the Dutch was great. "Those who advised His Majesty to prepare no fleet this spring, deserved—I know what—but!"—EVELYN'S *Diary*, 28th June, 1667.

were talking, there came Sir Thomas Allen¹ with two ladies, one of which was Mrs. Rebecca Allen, that I knew heretofore, the clerk of the rope-yard's daughter at Chatham, poor heart! come to desire favour for her husband, who is clapt up, being a Lieutenant [Jewkes] for sending a challenge to his Captain, in the most saucy, base language that could be writ. I perceive Sir W. Coventry is wholly resolved to bring him to punishment; for, "bear with this," says he, "and no discipline shall ever be expected." She in this sad condition took no notice of me, nor I of her. So away we to the Duke of York, and there in his closett Sir W. Coventry and I delivered the letter, which the Duke of York made not much of, I thought, as to laying it to heart, as the matter deserved, but did promise to look after the getting of money for us. To Sir George Carteret's and dined there, and many good stories at dinner, among others about discoveries of murder, and Sir J. Minnes did tell of the discovery of his own great-grandfather's murder, fifteen years after he was murdered. Mrs. Turner came to my office, and did walk an hour with me in the garden, telling me stories how Sir Edward Spragge hath lately made love to our neighbour, a widow, Mrs. Hollworthy, who is a woman of estate, and wit and spirit, and do contemn him the most, and sent him away with the greatest scorn in the world; also odd stories how the parish talks of Sir W. Pen's family, how poorly they clothe their daughter so soon after marriage, and do say that Mr. Lowther was married once before, and some such thing there hath been, whatever the bottom of it is. But to think of the clatter they make with his coach, and his owne fine cloathes, and yet how meanly they live

¹ Elsewhere called Captain Allen.

within doors, and nastily, and borrowing everything of neighbours.

2nd. Mr. Deane hath promised me a very fine draught of the Rupert, which I will make one of the beautifullest things that ever was seen of the kind, she being a ship that will deserve it. Then to the office and in the evening weary home and there to sing, but vexed with the unreadiness of the girle's voice to learn the latter part of my song, though I confess it is very hard, half notes.

3rd. To the Duke of York, where I read two most dismal letters of the straits we are in (from Collonell Middleton and Commissioner Taylor) that ever were wrote in the world, so as the Duke of York would have them to show the King, and to every demand of money, whereof we proposed many and very pressing ones, Sir G. Carteret did say that he had no funds to raise money on; and being asked by Sir W. Coventry whether the eleven months' tax was not a fund, he answered, "No, that the bankers would not lend money upon it." Then Sir W. Coventry burst out and said he did supplicate his Royal Highness, and would do the same to the King, that he would remember who they were that did persuade the King from parting with the Chimney-money to the Parliament, and taking that in lieu which they would certainly have given, and which would have raised infallibly ready money; meaning the bankers and the farmers of the Chimney-money, whereof Sir G. Carteret, I think, is one; saying plainly, that whoever did advise the King to that, did, as much as in them lay, cut the King's throat, and did wholly betray him; to which the Duke of York did assent; and remembered that the King did say again and again at the time, that he was assured, and did fully believe, the money would be raised presently upon a land-tax. This put us all into a stound; and Sir W.

Coventry went on to declare, that he was glad he was come to have so lately¹ concern in the Navy as he hath, for he cannot now give any good account of the Navy business; and that all his work now was to be able to provide such orders as would justify his Royal Highness in the business, when it shall be called to account; and that he do do, not concerning himself whether they are or can be performed, or no; and that when it comes to be examined, and falls on my Lord Treasurer, he cannot help it, whatever the issue of it shall be. Hereupon Sir W. Batten did pray him to keep also by him all our letters that come from the office that may justify us, which he says he do do, and, God knows, it is an ill sign when we are once to come to study how to excuse ourselves. It is a sad consideration, and therewith we broke up, all in a sad posture, the most that ever I saw in my life. One thing more Sir W. Coventry did say to the Duke of York, when I moved again, that of about 9,000*l.* debt to Lanyon,² at Plymouth, he might pay 3,700*l.* worth of prize-goods, that he bought lately at the candle, out of this debt due to him from the King; and the Duke of York, and Sir G. Carteret, and Lord Barkeley, saying, all of them, that my Lord Ashly would not be got to yield to it, who is Treasurer of the Prizes, Sir W. Coventry did plainly desire that it might be declared whether the proceeds of the prizes were to go to the helping on of the war, or no; and, if it were, how then could this be denied? which put them all into another stound; and it is true, God forgive us! Thence to the chappell, and there, by chance, hear that Dr. Crew³ is to preach; and so into the organ-loft, where I met

¹ Little? ² One of the contractors for victualling Tangier.

³ Nathanael Crewe, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and last Lord Crewe. He was the founder of the noble Bamborough charities. Ob. 1721.

Mr. Carteret, and my Lady Jemimah, and Sir Thomas Crew's two daughters, and Dr. Childe playing; and Dr. Crew did make a very pretty, neat, sober, honest sermon; and delivered it very readily, decently, and gravely, beyond his years: so as I was exceedingly taken with it, and I believe the whole chappell, he being but young; but his manner of his delivery I do like exceedingly. His text was, "But seeke ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." The Dutch letters are come, and say that the Dutch have ordered a passe to be sent for our Commissioners, and that it is now upon the way, coming with a trumpeter blinded, as is usual. But I perceive every body begins to doubt the success of the treaty, all their hopes being only that if it can be had on any terms, the Chancellor will have it; for he dare not come before a Parliament, nor a great many more of the courtiers, and the King himself do declare he do not desire it, nor intend it but on a strait; which God defend him from! Here I hear how the King is not so well pleased of this marriage between the Duke of Richmond and Mrs. Stewart, as is talked; and that he [the Duke] by a wile did fetch her to the Beare, at the Bridge-foot, where a coach was ready, and they are stole away into Kent,¹ without the King's leave; and that the King hath said he will never see her more; but people do think that it is only a trick. This day I saw Prince Rupert abroad in the Vane-room, pretty well as he used to be, and looks as well, only something appears to be under his periwigg on the crown of his head. So home vexed at two or three things, viz.: that my wife's watch proves so bad as it do, the ill state of the office and Kingdom's business, and at the charge which my mother's death for mourning will put me to.

¹ To Cobham Hall, near Gravesend, see 26th April, *post*.

4th. To the Duke of Albemarle to give him an account of the escaping of some soldiers for the manning of the few ships now ordering out with Harman to the West Indies, which is a sad consideration that at the very beginning of the year and few ships abroad we should be in such want of men that they do hide themselves, and sweat they will not go to be killed and have no pay. I find the Duke of Albemarle at dinner with sorry company, some of his officers of the Army; dirty dishes, and a nasty wife at table, and bad meat, of which I made but an ill dinner. Pretty to hear how she talked against Captain Du Tell,¹ the Frenchman, that the Prince and her husband put out the last year; and how, says she, the Duke of York hath made him, for his good services, his Cupbearer; yet he fired more shot into the Prince's ship, and others of the King's ships, than of the enemy. And the Duke of Albemarle did confirm it, and that somebody in the fight did cry out that a little Dutchman, by his ship, did plague him more than any other; upon which they were going to order him to be sunk, when they looked and found it was Du Tell, who, as the Duke of Albemarle says, had killed several men in several of our ships. He said, but for his interest, which he knew he had at Court, he had hanged him at the yard's-arm, without staying for a Court-martial. One Colonel Howard,² at the table, magnified the Duke of Albemarle's fight in June last, as being a greater action than ever was done by Cæsar. The Duke of Albemarle did say it had been no great action, had all his number fought, as they should have done, to have beat the Dutch; but of his 55 ships, not above 25 fought. He did give an account that it was a fight he was forced to: the Dutch being come in his

¹ See note, July 27, 1666, *ante*.

² Son of the Earl of Berkshire.



way, and he being ordered to the buoy of the Nore, he could not pass by them without fighting, nor avoid them without great disadvantage and dishonour; and this Sir G. Carteret, I afterwards giving him an account of what he said, says is true, that he was ordered up to the Nore. But I remember he said, had all his captains fought, he would no more have doubted to have beat the Dutch, with all their number, than to eat the apple that lay on his trencher. My Lady Duchess, among other things, discoursed of the wisdom of dividing the fleete;¹ which the General said nothing to, though he knows well that it came from themselves in the fleete, and was brought up hither by Sir Edward Spragge. Colonel Howard, asking how the Prince did, the Duke of Albemarle answering, "Pretty well;" the other replied, "But not so well as to go to sea again."—"How!" says the Duchess, "what should he go for, if he were well, for there are no ships for him to command? And so you have brought your hogs to a fair market," said she. It was pretty to hear the Duke of Albemarle himself to wish that they would come on our ground, meaning the French, for that he would pay them, so as to make them glad to go back to France again; which was like a general, but not like an admiral. One at the table told an odd passage in this late plague: that at Petersfield, I think, he said, one side of the street had every house almost infected through the town, and the other, not one shut up. I brought Balty to the Duke of Albemarle to kiss his hands and thank him for his kindness the last year to him, and then Balty and I to the Park, and, out of pity to his father, told him what I had in my thoughts to do for him about the money—that is, to make him Deputy Treasurer to the fleete, which I

¹ See Nov. 1, 1667, *post*.

have done by getting Sir G. Carteret's consent, and an order from the Duke of York for 1,500*l.* to be paid to him. He promises the whole profit to be paid to my wife, to be disposed of as she sees fit, for her father and mother's relief. So I back to Sir G. Carteret's and talked, and find that he do give every thing over for lost, and let Sir W. Coventry name the man that persuaded the King to take the Land Tax on promise of raising present money upon it. He will, he says, be able to clear himself enough of it. I made him merry, with telling him how many land-admirals we are to have this year: Allen at Plymouth, Holmes at Portsmouth, Spragge for Medway, Teddiman at Dover, Smith to the Northward, and Harman to the Southward. My Lady Carteret was on the bed to-day, having been let blood, and tells me of my Lady Jemimah's being big-bellied. With Sir Stephen Fox, talking of the sad condition of the King's purse, and affairs thereby; and how sad the King's life must be, to pass by his officers every hour, that are four years behindhand unpaid. My Lord Barkeley [of Stratton], I met with there, and fell into talk with him on the same thing, wishing to God that it might be remedied, to which he answered, with an oath, that it was as easy to remedy it as anything in the world; saying, that there is himself and three more would venture their carcasses upon it to pay all the King's debts in three years, had they the managing his revenue, and putting 300,000*l.* in his purse, as a stock. But, Lord! what a thing is this to me, that do know how likely a man my Lord Barkeley of all the world is, to do such a thing as this. Sir W. Coventry tells me plainly, that to all future complaints of lack of money, he will answer but with the shrug of the shoulder; which methought did come to my heart, to see him to begin to abandon the King's affairs, and let them sink or

swim, so he do his owne part, which I confess I believe he do beyond any officer the King has, but unless he do endeavour to make others do theirs, nothing will be done. My wife had been to-day at White; Hall to the Maundy,¹ it being Maundy Thursday; but the King did not wash the poor people's feet himself, but the Bishop of London did it for him. To Hackney, where good neat's tongue, and things to eat and drink, and very merry, the weather being mighty pleasant; and here I was told that at their church they have a fair pair of organs, which play while the people sing, which I am mighty glad of, wishing the like at our church at London, and would give 50*l.* towards it.

5th. In the street met with Mr. Sanchy, my old acquaintance at Cambridge, reckoned a great minister here in the City, and by Sir Richard Ford particularly, which I wonder at; for methinks, in his talk, he is but a mean man. To the Old Exchange, and there to Sir Robert Viner's, and made up my account there, to my great content; but I find they do not keep them so regularly as to enable them to do it easily, and truly, and readily, nor would it have been easily stated by any body on my behalf but myself, several things being to be referred to memory, which nobody else could have done, and therefore it

¹ Alms are still annually distributed to a certain number of poor persons in the royal chapel at Whitehall, in the name of the Sovereign, on Maundy Thursday, the day preceding Good Friday. The word is derived from the baskets, or *maunds*, in which the gift is contained. Formerly, the Kings and Queens of England, besides bestowing their maunds on as many poor men and women as they were years old, washed their feet. James II. was probably the last of our monarchs who performed this ceremony. Of the ceremonial of the Maundy as practised in George III's time, some engravings were published in 1773, after drawings by S. H. Grimm. It is the custom to give the royal alms in small silver coinage, struck especially for the occasion, and called Maundy money.

is fully necessary for me to even accounts with these people as often as I can. So to Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Young was talking about the building of the City again: and he told me that those few churches that are to be new built are plainly not chosen with regard to the convenience of the City; they stand a great many in a cluster about Cornhill; but that all of them are either in the gift of the Lord Archbishop, or Bishop of London, or Lord Chancellor, or gift of the City. Thus all things, even to the building of churches, are done in this world! And then he says, which I wonder at, that he should not in all this time see, that Moorefields have houses two stories high in them, and paved streets, the City having let leases for seven years, which he do conclude will be very much to the hindering the building of the City; but it was considered that the streets cannot be passable in London till the whole street be built; and several that had got ground of the City for charity, to build sheds on, had got the trick presently to sell that for 60*l.*, which did not cost them 20*l.* to put up; and so the City, being very poor in stock, thought it as good to do it themselves, and therefore let leases for seven years of the ground in Moorefields; and a good deal of this money, thus advanced, hath been employed for the enabling them to find some money for Commissioner Taylor, and Sir W. Batten, towards the charge of "The Loyall London,"¹ or else, it is feared, it had never been paid. This morning come to me the Collectors for my Poll-money; for which I paid for my title as Esquire and place of Clerk of Acts, and my head and wife's, and servants' and their wages, 40*l.* 17*s.*; and though this be a great deal, yet it is a shame I should pay no more: that is, that I should not be assessed for my

¹ The ship given by the City to the King. See 10th June, 1666, *ante*.

pay, as in the victualling business and Tangier ; and for my money, which, of my own accord, I had determined to charge myself with 1,000*l.* money, till coming to the Vestry, and seeing nobody of our ablest merchants, as Sir Andrew Rickard, to do it, I thought it not decent for me to do it, and would it be thought wisdom to do it unnecessarily, but vain glory.

6th. To the Tower wharfe, to attend the shipping of soldiers, to go down to man some ships going out, and pretty to see how merrily some, and most go, and how sad others—the leave they take of their friends, and the terms that some wives, and other wenches asked to part with them : a pretty mixture. Away to the Exchange, and mercers and drapers, up and down, to pay all my scores occasioned by this mourning for my mother ; and emptied a 50*l.* bag, and it was a joy to me to see that I am able to part with such a sum, without much inconvenience : at least, without any trouble of mind.

7th. (Easter day.) With my wife to church, where Mr. Mills, a lazy sermon. After dinner to walk in the Parke, and heard the Italian musique at the Queen's chapel, whose composition is fine, but yet the voices of eunuchs I do not like as our women, nor am more pleased with it at all than with English voices, but that they do jump most excellently with themselves and their instrument, which is wonderful pleasant ; but I am convinced more and more, that, as every nation has a particular accent and tone in discourse, so as the tone of one not to agree with or please the other, no more can the fashion of singing to words, for that the better the words are set, the more they take in of the ordinary tone of the country whose language the song speaks, so that a song well composed by an Englishman must be better to an Englishman than it can be to a stranger, or than if

set by a stranger in foreign words. Thence to White Hall, and there saw the King come out of chapel after prayers in the afternoon, which he is never at but after having received the Sacrament : and the Court, I perceive, is quite out of mourning ; and some very fine ; among others, my Lord Gerard, in a very rich vest and coat. Here I met with my Lord Bellassis : and it is pretty to see what a formal story he tells me of his leaving his place upon the death of my Lord Cleveland,¹ by which he is become Captain of the Pensioners ; and that the King did leave it to him to keep the other or take this ; whereas, I know the contrary, that they had a mind to have him away from Tangier. He tells me he is commanded by the King to go down to the north to satisfy the Deputy Lieutenants of Yorkshire, who have desired to lay down their commissions upon pretence of having no profit by their places but charge, but indeed it is upon the Duke of Buckingham being under a cloud, of whom there is yet nothing heard, so that the King is apprehensive of their discontent, and sends him to pacify them, and I think he is as good a dissembler as any man else, and a fine person he is, and proper to lead the Pensioners, but a man of no honour nor faith I doubt. Into Moor Fields, and did find houses built two stories high, and like to stand ; and it must become a place of great trade, till the City be built ; and the street is already paved as London streets used to be.

8th. Away to the Temple, to my new bookseller's :

¹ Thomas Wentworth, fourth Lord Wentworth of Nettlested, advanced, in 1625-6, to the Earldom of Cleveland, and in 1662 made Captain of the band of Pensioners. He died in 1667, s. p. m., when the Barony devolved upon his daughter, Henrietta, Baroness Wentworth, afterwards mistress of the Duke of Monmouth.

and there I did agree for Rycaut's late History of the Turkish Policy,¹ which cost me 55s. ; whereas it was sold plain before the late fire for 8s., and bound and coloured as this is for 20s. ; for I have bought it finely bound and truly coloured, all the figures, of which there was but six books done so, whereof the King and Duke of York, and Duke of Monmouth, and Lord Arlington, had four. The fifth was sold, and I have bought the sixth. Home, and there find all things in readiness for a good dinner. By and by come my guests, Dr. Clerke and his wife, and Mrs. Worshipp,² and her daughter ; and then Mr. Pierce and his wife, and boy, and Betty ; and then I sent for Mercer ; so that we had, with my wife and I, twelve at table, and very good and pleasant company, and a most neat and excellent, but dear dinner ; but, Lord ! to see with what envy they looked upon all my fine plate was pleasant ; for I made the best show I could, to let them understand me and my condition, to take down the pride of Mrs. Clerke, who thinks herself very great. We sat long ; and, after dinner, went out by coaches, thinking to have seen a play, but come too late to both houses, and then they had thoughts of going abroad somewhere ; but I thought all the charge ought to be mine, and therefore endeavoured to part the company ; and so ordered it to set them all down at Mrs. Pierce's ; and there my wife and I and Mercer left them in good humour, and we three to the King's house, and saw the latter end of the "Surprisall,"³ wherein was no great matter. Thence away to Polichinello,⁴ and there had three times more sport than at the play,

¹ This book is in the Pepysian Library. It was soon afterwards reprinted.

² The sister of Mrs. Clerke.

³ A comedy, by Sir Robert Howard.

⁴ In Moorfields : see 22nd Aug., 1666, *ante*.

and so home, and to bed mightily pleased with this day's pleasure.

9th. Towards noon, I to the Exchange, and there do hear mighty cries for peace, and that otherwise we shall be undone; and yet I do suspect the badness of the peace we shall make. Several do complain of abundance of land flung up by tenants out of their hands for want of ability to pay their rents; and by name, that the Duke of Buckingham hath 6,000*l.* so flung up. And my father writes, that Jasper Trice,¹ upon this pretence of his tenants' dealing with him, is broke up housekeeping, and gone to board with his brother, Naylor, at Offord; which is very sad. To the King's house, and there saw "The Tameing of a Shrew," which hath some very good pieces in it, but generally is but a mean play; and the best part, "Sawny,"² done by Lacy; and hath not half its life, by reason of the words, I suppose, not being understood, at least by me. Sir W. Batten tells me how he hath found his lady's jewels again, which have been so long lost, and a servant imprisoned and arraigned, and they were in her closet under a china cup; but Mrs. Turner and I, and others, do believe that they were only disposed of by my

¹ Jasper Trice, gent., died 27th October, 1675.—*Monumental Inscription in Brampton Church, Hunts.*

² In 1698 was printed a drama called "Sawney the Scot, or the Taming of a Shrew," which was a clumsy alteration of Shakespeare's play, the work of Lacy, for the purpose of affording him an opportunity of distinguishing himself as an actor. This is the piece which Pepys saw; as, in the old anonymous copy of "The Taming of a Shrew," which was the foundation of Shakespeare's drama, *Sawney* had been called *Sander*; and no doubt the notion of representing Grumio as a Scotchman arose out of the circumstance of his having been called *Sander* before Shakespeare availed himself of the story. The old "Taming of a Shrew" was reprinted in 1844, from the unique copy of 1594, in the library of the Duke of Devonshire, for the Shakespeare Society, and edited by the late respected Thomas Amyot, Esq., F.A.S.

Lady, in case she had died, to some friends of hers, and now laid there again.

10th. Up and to my office a little, and there, in the garden, find Sir W. Pen; and he and I to Sir W. Batten, where he tells us of new disorders of Hogg and his men in taking of 30 tuns of wine out of a prize of ours, which makes us mad; and that, added to the unwillingness of the men to go any longer abroad without money, do lead us to conclude not to keep her abroad any longer, of which I am glad. So away to White Hall to Sir W. Coventry's, with whom I staid a great while; and he do declare himself troubled that he has anything left him to do in the Navy, and would be glad to part with his whole profits and concernments in it, his pains and care being wholly ineffectual during this lack of money; the expense growing infinite, the service not to be done, and discipline and order not to be kept, only from want of money. I begun to discourse with him the business of Tangier, which by the removal of my Lord Bellasis, is now to have a new Governor; and did move him, that at this season all the business of reforming the garrison might be considered, while nobody was to be offended; and I told him it is plain that we do overspend our revenue: that the place is of no more profit to the King than it was the first day, nor in itself of better credit; no more people of condition willing to live there, nor any thing like a place likely to turn his Majesty to account: that it hath been hitherto, and, for aught I see, likely only to be used as a job to do a kindness to some Lord, or he that can get to be Governor. Sir W. Coventry agreed with me, so as to say, that unless the King hath the wealth of the Mogul, he would be a beggar to have his businesses ordered in the manner they now are: that his garrisons must be made places only of convenience to particular

persons : that he hath moved the Duke of York in it ; and that it was resolved to send no Governor thither till there had been Commissioners sent to put the garrison in order, so as that he that goes may go with limitations and rules to follow, and not to do as he please, as the rest have hitherto done. That he is not afraid to speak his mind, though to the displeasure of any man ; and that I know well enough ; but that, when it is come, as it is now, that to speak the truth in behalf of the King plainly do no good, but all things bore down by other measures than by what is best for the King, he hath no temptation to be perpetually fighting of battles, it being more easy to him on those terms to suffer things to go on without giving any man offence, than to have the same thing done, and he contract the displeasure of all the world, as he must do, that will be for the King. To the King's little chapel ; and afterwards to see the King heal the King's Evil, wherein no pleasure, I having seen it before ;¹ and then to see him and the Queene and Duke of York and his wife, at dinner in the Queene's lodgings ; and so with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgings to dinner ; where very good company ; and after dinner he and I to talk alone how things are managed, and to what ruin we must come if we have not a peace. He did tell me one occasion, how Sir Thomas Allen, whom I took for a man of known courage and service on the King's side, was tried for his life in Prince Rupert's fleete, in the late times, for cowardice, and condemned to be hanged, and fled to Jersey ; where Sir G. Carteret received him, not knowing the reason of his coming thither : and that thereupon Prince Rupert wrote to the Queen-Mother his dislike of Sir G. Carteret's receiving a person that stood condemned ;

¹ See 23rd June, 1660.

and so Sir G. Carteret was forced to bid him betake himself to some other place. This was strange to me. Our Commissioners are preparing to go to Bredah to the treaty, and do design to be going the next week. Down by water to Deptford Dockyard, and there did a little business, all the way reading a little piece I lately bought, called "The Virtuoso, or the Stoicke," proposing many things paradoxical to our common opinions, wherein in some things he speaks well, but generally is but a sorry man. Blessed be God! I hear that my father is better and better, and will, I hope, live to enjoy some cheerful days; but it is strange what he writes me, that Mr. Weaver, of Huntingdon, who was a lusty, likely, and but a youngish man, should be dead.

11th. I to the 'Change, and there hear by Mr. Houblon of the loss of a little East Indiaman, valued at about 20,000*l.*, coming home alone, and safe to within ten leagues of Scilly, and there snapt by a French Caper.¹ Our merchants do much pray for peace; and he tells me that letters are come that the Dutch have stopped the fitting-out of their great ships, and the coming out of a fleete of theirs of 50 sayle, that was ready to come out; but I doubt the truth of it yet. Thence to Sir G. Carteret, where my Lady was, and dined with him, and very merry and good people they are, when pleased, as any I know. With Balty to Sir G. Carteret's office, and there with Mr. Fenn despatched the business of Balty's 1,500*l.* he received for the contingencies of the fleete, whereof he received about 253*l.* in pieces of eight at a goldsmith's there hard by, which did puzzle me and him to tell; for I could not tell the difference by sight, only by bigness, and that is not always discernible, between a whole and half-piece and quarter-piece.

¹ A Dutch word signifying a pirate, a *capiendo*.—SKINNER'S *Etymol. Dict.*

To White Hall, thinking there to have seen the Duchess of Newcastle's coming this night to Court, to make a visit to the Queene, the King having been with her yesterday, to make her a visit since her coming to town. The whole story of this lady is a romance, and all she does is romantic. Her footmen in velvet coats, and herself in antique dress, as they say; and was the other day at her own play, "The Humourous Lovers;" the most ridiculous thing that ever was wrote, but yet she and her Lord mightily pleased with it; and she, at the end, made her respects to the players from her box, and did give them thanks. There is as much expectation of her coming to Court, that so people may come to see her, as if it were the Queen of Sheba:¹ but I lost my labour, for she did not come this night. There have been two fires in the City within this week.

12th. Coming home, saw my door and hatch open, left so by Luce, our cookmayde, which so vexed me, that I did give her a kick in our entry, and offe.ed a blow at her, and was seen doing so by Sir. W. Pen's footboy, which did vex me to the heart, because I know he will be telling their family of it; though I did put on presently a very pleasant face to the boy, and spoke kindly to him, as one without passion, so as it may be he might not think I was angry, but I was troubled at it. So away by water to White Hall, and there did our usual business before the Duke of York; but it fell out that, discoursing of matters of money, it rose to a mighty heat, very high words arising between Sir G. Carteret and Sir W. Coventry, the former in his passion saying that the other should have helped things if they were so bad; and the other answered, so he would, and things should have been better had he been Trea-

¹ The word is Sweden in the manuscript.

surer of the Navy. I was mightily troubled at this heat, and it will breed ill blood between them I fear; but things are in that bad condition that I do daily expect we shall all fly in one another's faces, when we shall be reduced, every one, to answer for himself. We broke up; and I soon after to Sir G. Carteret's chamber, where I find the poor man telling his lady privately, and she weeping. I went into them, and did seem, as indeed I was, troubled for this; and did give the best advice I could, which, I think, did please them: and they do apprehend me their friend, as indeed I am, for I do take the Vice-chamberlain for a most honest man. He did assure me that he was not, all expences and things paid, clear in estate 15,000*l.* better than he was when the King came in; and that the King and Lord Chancellor did know that he was worth, with the debt the King owed him, 50,000*l.*, I think, he said, when the King came into England. I did pacify all I could, and then away by water home, there to write letters and things for the dispatch of Balty away this day to sea; and after dinner he did go, I having given him much good counsell; and I have great hopes that he will make good use of it, and be a good man, for I find him willing to take pains and very sober. All the afternoon getting off of hand my papers, which, by the late holidays and my laziness, were grown too many upon my hands, to my great trouble, and therefore at it as long as my eyes would give me leave, and then singing in the garden with great pleasure.

13th. Wrote to my father, who, I am glad to hear, is at some ease again, and I long to have him in town, that I may see what can be done for him here; for I would fain do all I can, that I may have him live, and take pleasure in my doing well in the world.

14th. (Lord's day.) With my wife to church, and after dinner took out my wife, and the two Mercers, and two of our mayds, Barker and Jane, and over the water to the Jamaica House,¹ where I never was before, and there the girls did run for wagers over the bowling-green; and there, with much pleasure, spent little, and so home.

15th. Called up by Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that my Lord Middleton is for certain chosen Governor of Tangier; a man of moderate understanding, not covetous, but a soldier of fortune, and poor. To the King's house by chance, where a new play: so full as I never saw it; I forced to stand all the while close to the very door till I took cold, and many people went away for want of room. The King, and Queene, and Duke of York and Duchesse there, and all the Court, and Sir W. Coventry. The play called "The Change of Crownes;"² a play of Ned Howard's,³ the best that ever I saw at that house, being a great play and serious; only Lacy did act the country-gentleman come up to Court, who do abuse the Court with all the imaginable wit and plainness about selling of places, and doing every thing for money. The play took very much. Thence I to my new bookseller's, and there bought "Hooker's Polity,"⁴ the new edition, and "Dugdale's History of the Inns of Court," of which there was but a few saved out of the fire, and Playford's new Catch-book, that hath a great many new fooleries in it.

16th. Home to dinner, and in haste to carry my

¹ The site of the house here alluded to was probably in Jamaica Street, Rotherhithe.

² This play was never printed, nor is it known to exist.

³ A younger son of the first Earl of Berkshire, brother to Sir Robert Howard, and brother-in-law to Dryden.

⁴ The edition of 1666, containing *eight* books instead of *five*, with a Life by Izaak Walton.

wife to see the new play I saw yesterday, she not knowing it. But there, contrary to expectation, find "The Silent Woman." However, in; and there Knipp came into the pit. I took her by me, and here we met with Mrs. Horsley, the pretty woman—an acquaintance of Mercer's, whose house is burnt. Knipp tells me the King was so angry at the liberty taken by Lacy's part¹ to abuse him to his face, that he commanded they should act no more, till Moone² went and got leave for them to act again, but not this play. The King mighty angry; and it was bitter indeed, but very true and witty. I never was more taken with a play than I am with this "Silent Woman," as old as it is, and as often as I have seen it. There is more wit in it than goes to ten new plays. Thence took them all to the Cake-house, in Southampton Market-place,³ where Pierce told us the story how, in good earnest, the King is offended with the Duke of Richmond's marrying, and Mrs. Stewart sending the King his jewels again. As he tells it, it is the noblest romance and example of a brave lady that ever I read in my life. Pretty to hear them talk of yesterday's play, and I durst not own to my wife that I had seen it.

17th. With the two Sir Williams by coach to the Duke of York. In our way, in Tower Street, we

¹ In "The Change of Crownes."

² "Michael Mohun, the actor, mentioned Nov. 20, 1660. He is described as Major, in the *Dram. Pers.* of Dryden's "Assignment" as late as 1673.

³ Afterwards called Bloomsbury Market. The following advertisement was inserted in "The Intelligencer" of 23rd May, 1664:—"These are to give notice to all persons, that the King's most excellent Majesty hath granted to the Right Hon. the Earl of Southampton, one market to be held by the said Earl, his heirs, and assigns for ever, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, in every week, at Bloomsbury, in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, in the county of Middlesex."

saw Desbrough¹ walking on foot: who is now no more a prisoner, and looks well, and just as he used to do heretofore. Then took my wife up and to the King's playhouse, and saw a piece of "Rolla," a play I like not much, but much good acting in it: the house very empty.

18th. With my wife to the Duke of York's house, and there saw "The Wits," a play I formerly loved, and is now corrected and enlarged: but, though I like the acting, yet I like not much in the play now. The Duke of York and W. Coventry gone to Portsmouth, makes me thus to go to plays.

19th. To the play-house, where we saw "Macbeth," which, though I have seen it often, yet is it one of the best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and musique, that ever I saw. My wife tells me that she finds by W. Hewer that my people do observe my minding my pleasures more than usual, which I confess, and am ashamed of, and so from this day take upon me to leave it till Whit-Sunday. While we were sitting in the garden comes Mrs. Turner to advise about her son, the Captain, when I did give her the best advice I could, to look out for some land employment for him, a peace being at hand, when few ships will be employed and very many, and these old Captains, to be provided for. Then to other talk and about Sir W. Pen's being to buy Wansted House of Sir Robert Brookes; and I dare be hanged if ever he could mean to buy that great house, that knows not how to furnish one that is not the tenth part so big.

20th. At noon dined, and with my wife to the King's house, but there found the bill torn down and no play acted, and so being in the humour to see

¹ Major-General John Desborough, Cromwell's brother-in-law, and one of his Council of State, who had been promoted to the Chancellorship of Ireland by his nephew Richard.

one, went to the Duke of York's house, and there saw "The Witts" again, which likes me better than it did the other day, having much wit in it. Here met Mr. Rolt, who tells me the reason of no play to-day at the King's house. That Lacy had been committed to the porter's lodge for his acting his part in the late new play, and being thence released to come to the King's house, he there met with Ned Howard, the poet of the play, who congratulated his release; upon which Lacy cursed him as that it was the fault of his nonsensical play that was the cause of his ill usage. Mr. Howard did give him some reply; to which Lacy answered him, that he was more a fool than a poet; upon which Howard did give him a blow on the face with his glove; upon which Lacy, having a cane in his hand, did give him a blow over the pate. Here Rolt and others that discoursed of it in the pit did wonder that Howard did not run him through, he being too mean a fellow to fight with. But Howard did not do any thing but complain to the King of it; so the whole house is silenced, and the gentry seem to rejoice much at it, the house being become too insolent. Home, having brought with me from Fenchurch Street a hundred of sparrowgrass,¹ cost 18*d*. We had them and a little bit of salmon, which my wife had a mind to, cost 3*s*. So to supper and to bed.

21st. (Lord's day.) I have a mind to buy enough ground to build a coach-house and stable; for I have had it much in my thoughts lately that it is not too much for me now, in degree or cost, to keep a coach, but contrarily, that I am almost ashamed to be seen in a hackney, and therefore if I can have the convenience, I will secure the ground at least till peace comes, that I do receive encouragement to keep a

¹ Still cockney for asparagus.

coach, or else that I may part with the ground again. The place I like very well, being close to my owne house, and so resolve to go about it, and so with my wife to church, and after dinner Mercer and I sung "Suo Moro," which is one of the best pieces of musique to my thinking that ever I did hear in my life. Then took coach and to Hackney church, where very full, and found much difficulty to get pews, I offering the sexton money, and he could not help me. So my wife and Mercer ventured into a pew, and I into another. A knight and his lady very civil to me when they came, being Sir G. Viner¹ and his lady—rich in jewells, but most in beauty—almost the finest woman that ever I saw. That which we went chiefly to see was the young ladies of the schools, whereof there is great store, very pretty; and also the organ, which is handsome, and tunes the psalm, and plays with the people; which is mighty pretty, and makes me mighty earnest to have a pair at our church, I having almost a mind to give them a pair, if they would settle a maintenance on them for it.

22nd. To the Lord Chancellor's house, the first time I have been therein; and it is very noble, and brave pictures of the ancient and present nobility. The King was vexed the other day for having no paper laid for him at the Council-table, as was usual; and Sir Richard Browne² did tell his Majesty he would call the person³ whose work it was to provide it: who being come, did tell his Majesty that he was but a poor man, and was out 400*l.* or 500*l.* for it, which was as much as he is worth; and that he

¹ Sir George Viner, in 1665, succeeded his father, Sir Thomas, who had been Lord Mayor in 1653, and created a Baronet in 1660. Sir George died in 1673. His wife was Abigail, daughter of Sir John Lawrence, Lord Mayor in 1665.

² Clerk of the Council.

³ Wooly.

cannot provide it any longer without money, having not received a penny since the King's coming in. So the King spoke to my Lord Chamberlain; and many such mementos the King do now-a-days meet withall, enough to make an ingenuous man mad.

23rd. (St. George's-day.) The feast being kept at White Hall, out of design, as it is thought, to make the best countenance we can to the Swede's Embassadors,¹ before their leaving us to go to the treaty abroad, to show some jollity.

24th. To St. James's, and there the Duke of York was preparing to go to some farther ceremonies about the Garter, that he could give us no audience. To Sir John Duncomb's² lodging in the Pell Mell, in order to the money spoken of in the morning; and there awhile sat and discoursed: and I find that he is a very proper man for business, being very resolute and proud, and industrious. He told me what reformation they had made in the office of the Ordnance, taking away Legg's³ fees: and have got an order that no Treasurer after him shall ever sit at the Board; and it is a good one: that no master of the Ordnance here shall ever sell a place. He tells me they have not paid any increase of price for any thing during this war, but in most have paid less; and at this day have greater stores than they know where to lay, if there should be peace, and than ever was any time this war. Then to talk of newes: that he thinks the want of money hath undone the King, for the Parliament will never give the King more money without calling all people to account, nor, as he believes, will ever make war again, but

¹ See 15th Nov. 1666.

² Sir John Duncomb, burgess for Bury St. Edmunds, a Privy Councillor, and made a Commissioner of the Treasury in 1667. At this time he was in the Ordnance.

³ Colonel William Legge, father of the first Lord Dartmouth.

they will manage it themselves : unless, which I proposed, he would visibly become a severer inspector into his own business and accounts, and that would gain upon the Parliament yet : which he confesses and confirms as the only lift to set him upon his legs, but says that it is not in his nature ever to do. He thinks that much of our misfortune hath been for want of an active Lord Treasurer, and that such a man as Sir W. Coventry would do the business thoroughly.

26th. To White Hall, and there saw the Duke of Albemarle, who is not well, and do grow crazy. While I was waiting in the matted Gallery, a young man was working in Indian inke the great picture of the King and Queen¹ sitting, by Van Dyke ; and did it very finely. Met with Ned Pickering, who tells me the ill newes of his nephew Gilbert, who is turned a very rogue. Then I took a turn with Mr. Evelyn, with whom I walked two hours, till almost one of the clock : talking of the badness of the Government, where nothing but wickedness, and wicked men and women command the King : that it is not in his nature to gainsay any thing that relates to his pleasures ; that much of it arises from the sickliness of our Ministers of State, who cannot be about him as the idle companions are, and therefore he gives way to the young rogues ; and then, from the negligence of the Clergy, that a Bishop shall never be seen about him, as the King of France hath always : that the King would fain have some of the same gang to be Lord Treasurer, which would be yet worse, for now some delays are put to the getting gifts of the King, as Lady Byron,² who had been, as

¹ Charles I. and Henrietta Maria.

² Eleanor, daughter of Robert Needham, Viscount Kilmurrey, and widow of Peter Warburton, became in 1644 the second wife of John Byron, first Lord Byron. Ob. 1663.

he called it, the King's seventeenth mistress abroad, did not leave him till she had got him to give her an order for 4,000*l.* worth of plate to be made for her ; but by delays, thanks be to God ! she died before she had it. He tells me mighty stories of the King of France, how great a prince he is.¹ He hath made a code to shorten the law ; he hath put out all the ancient commanders of castles that were become hereditary ; he hath made all the fryers subject to the bishops, which before were only subject to Rome, and so were hardly the King's subjects, and that none shall become *religieux* but at such an age, which he thinks will in a few years ruin the Pope, and bring France into a patriarchate. He confirmed to me the business of the want of paper at the Council-table the other day, which I have observed ; Wooly being to have found it, and did, being called, tell the King to his face the reason of it ; and Mr. Evelyn tells me of several of the menial servants of the Court lacking bread, that have not received a farthing wages since the King's coming in. He tells me the King of France hath his mistresses, but laughs at the foolery of our King, that makes his bastards princes,² and loses his revenue upon them, and makes his mistresses his masters : and the King of France did never grant Lavalliere³ any thing to bestow on

¹ All these assertions respecting the King of France must be received cautiously. Pepys was very ignorant of foreign matters, and very credulous.

² Louis made his own bastards dukes and princes, and legitimated them as much as he could, connecting them also by marriage with the real blood-royal.

³ Louise Françoise de la Baume le Blanc de la Vallière had four children by Louis XIV., of whom only two survived—Marie Anne Bourbon, called Mademoiselle de Blois, born in 1666, afterwards married to the Prince de Conti, and the Comte de Vermandois, born in 1667. In that year (the very year in which Evelyn was giving this account to Pepys), the Duchy of Vaujour and two

others, and gives a little subsistence, but no more, to his bastards. He told me the whole story of Mrs. Stewart's going away from Court, he knowing her well; and believes her, up to her leaving the Court, to be as virtuous as any woman in the world: and told me, from a Lord that she told it to but yesterday, with her own mouth, and a sober man, that when the Duke of Richmond did make love to her, she did ask the King, and he did the like also; and that the King did not deny it, and [she] told this Lord that she was come to that pass as to have resolved to have married any gentleman of 1,500*l.* a-year that would have had her in honour; for it was come to that pass, that she could not longer continue at Court without prostituting herself to the King,¹ whom she had so long kept off, though he had liberty more than any other had, or he ought to have, as to dalliance.² She told this Lord that she had reflected upon the occasion she had given the world to think her a bad woman, and that she had no way but to marry and leave the Court, rather in this way of discontent than otherwise, that the world might see that she sought not any thing but her honour; and that she will never come to live at Court more than when she comes to town to kiss the Queene her Mistress's hand: and hopes, though she hath little reason to hope, she can please her Lord so as to re-

Baronies were created in favour of La Vallière and her daughter, who, in the deed of creation, was legitimatized, and styled Princess.

¹ Even at a much later time, Mrs. Godolphin well resolved "not to talk foolishly to men, *more especially* THE KING,"—"be sure *never to talk to* THE KING."—*Life* by Evelyn. These expressions speak volumes as to Charles's character.

² Evelyn evidently believed the Duchess of Richmond to be innocent; and his testimony, coupled with her own declaration, ought to weigh down all the scandal which Pepys reports from other sources.



claim him, that they may yet live comfortably in the country on his estate. She told this Lord that all the jewells she ever had given her at Court, or any other presents, more than the King's allowance of 700*l.* per annum out of the Privy-purse for her clothes, were, at her first coming the King did give her a necklace of pearl of about 1,100*l.*¹ and afterwards, about seven months since, when the King had hopes to have obtained some courtesy of her, the King did give her some jewells, I have forgot what, and I think a pair of pendants. The Duke of York, being once her Valentine, did give her a jewell of about 800*l.*; and my Lord Mandeville, her Valentine this year, a ring of about 300*l.*; and the King of France would have had her mother,² who, he says, is one of the most cunning women in the world, to have let her stay in France, saying that he loved her not as a mistress, but as one that he could marry as well as any lady in France; and that, if she might stay, for the honour of his Court he would take care she should not repent. But her mother, by command of the Queen-mother, thought rather to bring her into England; and the King of France did give her a jewell: so that Mr. Evelyn believes she may be worth in jewells about 6,000*l.*, and that that is all she hath in the world: and a worthy woman; and in this hath done as great an act of honour as ever was done by woman. That now the Countess Castlemaine do carry all before her: and among other arguments to prove Mrs. Stewart to have been honest to the last, he says that the King's keeping in

¹ Which she returned to the King.

² This lady's name nowhere appears. She was the wife of the Hon. Walter Stuart, M.D., third son of Walter, first Lord Blythburgh. The Duchess of Richmond, Frances Teresa, was her elder daughter. The younger, Sophia, married the Hon. Henry Bulkeley, master of the household to Charles II. and James II.

still with my Lady Castlemaine do show it ; for he never was known to keep two mistresses in his life, and would never have kept to her had he prevailed any thing with Mrs. Stewart. She is gone yesterday with her Lord to Cobham.¹ He did tell me of the ridiculous humour of our King and Knights of the Garter the other day, who, whereas heretofore their robes were only to be worn during their ceremonies and service, these, as proud of their coats, did wear them all day till night, and then rode into the Parke with them on. Nay, and he tells me he did see my Lord Oxford and the Duke of Monmouth in a hackney-coach with two footmen in the Parke, with their robes on ; which is a most scandalous thing, so as all gravity may be said to be lost among us. By and by we discoursed of Sir Thomas Clifford,² whom I took for a very rich and learned man, and of the great family of that name. He tells me he is only a man of about seven-score pounds a-year, of little learning more than the law of a justice of peace, which he knows well : a parson's son, got to be burgess in a little borough in the West, and here fell

¹ Cobham Hall, in Kent, after the attainder of Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, was granted by James I. to Ludovic Stuart, Duke of Lennox, and his brother George, Lord Aubigny, from whom it descended to Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, in 1660. This Duke dying, s. p., in 1672, when ambassador to Denmark, the estates, together with the English barony of Clifton, passed, through his sister, Lady Catherine O'Brien, to the ancestor of the Earl of Darnley, the present possessor. Lady Catherine O'Brien married Sir Joseph Williamson, who repurchased the Cobham estates, when sold, and preserved them to the family.

² Sir Thomas Clifford was the eldest son of Hugh Clifford, of Ugbrook, in Devonshire, who had been entrusted with the command of a regiment of foot for the King, in the beginning of the Rebellion. Sir Thomas attended the Duke of York in the great sea-fight with the Dutch, 3rd June, 1665. On the 20th April, 1672, he was created Baron Clifford, of Chudleigh, co. Devon ; and on 28th November following, appointed Lord High Treasurer. Ob. 1673.—*LODGE'S Portraits.*

into the acquaintance of my Lord Arlington, whose creature he is, and never from him ; a man of virtue, and comely, and good parts enough ; and hath come into his place with a great grace, though with a great skip over the heads of a great many, as Chichly and Denham, and some Lords that did expect it. By the way, he tells me, that of all the great men of England there is none that endeavours more to raise those that he takes into favour than my Lord Arlington ; and that, on that score, he is much more to be made one's patron than my Lord Chancellor, who never did, nor never will do, any thing, but for money.¹ After having this long discourse we parted, and I home, and after dinner to White Hall, there to attend the Duke of York before council, and here he did tell us how the King of France is intent upon his design against Flanders, and has drawn up a remonstrance of the cause of the war, and appointed the 20th of the next month for his rendezvous, and himself to prepare for the campaign the 30th, so that this, we are in hopes, will keep him in employment. Turenne is to be general. Certain newes of the Dutch being abroad on our coast with twenty-four great ships. Met my Lady Newcastle going with her coaches and footmen all in velvet : herself, whom I never saw before, as I have heard her often described, for all the town-talk is now-a-days of her extravagancies, with her velvet-cap, her hair about her ears ; many black patches, because of pimples about her mouth ; naked-necked, without any thing about it, and a black just-au-corps. She seemed to me a very comely woman : but I hope to see more of her on May-day.

27th. This afternoon I got in some coals at 23s. per chaldron, a good hearing, I thank God—having

¹ See 9th Sept. 1665, *ante*.

not been put to buy a coal all this dear time, that during this war poor people have been forced to give 45s. and 50s., and 3*l*. My wife and people busy these late days, and will be for some time, making of shirts and smocks. With Mr. Moore, discoursing of my Lord Sandwich's family, which he tells me is in very bad condition, for want of money and management, my Lord's charging them with bills, and nobody, nor any thing provided to answer them.

28th. (Lord's day.) After dinner, by water—the day being mighty pleasant, and the tide serving finely, reading in Boyle's book of colours, as high as Barne Elmes, and there took one turn alone, and then back to Putney Church, where I saw the girls of the schools, few of which pretty; and there I came into a pew, and met with little James Pierce, which I was much pleased at, the little rogue being very glad to see me: his master, Reader to the Church. Here was a good sermon and much company, but I sleepy, and a little out of order, at my hat falling down through a hole beneath the pulpit, which, however, after sermon, by a stick, and the helpe of the clerke, I got up again. And so by water, the tide being with me again, down to Deptford, and there I walked down the Yard, Shish¹ and Cox with me, and discoursed about cleaning of the wet docke, and heard, which I had before, how, when the docke was made, a ship of nearly 500 tons was there found; a ship supposed of Queene Elizabeth's time, and well wrought, with a great deal of stone-shot in her, of eighteen inches diameter,

¹ On 13th June, 1680, Evelyn attended the funeral of old Mr. Jonas Shish, master shipwright of the King's yard at Deptford, whom he describes as a remarkable man, and his death a public loss (although altogether illiterate), and for breeding up so many of his children to be able artists. He was born in 1605. Evelyn adds, "I held up the pall with three knights, who did him that honour, and he was worthy of it." See "Diary," vol. ii. p. 142, edit. 1850.

which was shot then in use : and afterwards meeting with Captain Perriman and Mr. Castle at Half-way Tree, they tell me of stone-shot of thirty-six inches diameter, which they shot out of mortar-pieces.¹

29th. I hear that the Duke of Cambridge, the Duke of York's son, is very sick ; and my Lord Treasurer very bad of the stone, and hath been so some days. Sir G. Carteret tells me my Lord Arlington hath done like a gentleman by him in all things. He says, if my Lord [Sandwich] were here, he were the fittest man to be Lord Treasurer of any man in England ; and he thinks it might be compassed ; for he confesses that the King's matters do suffer through the inability of this man, who is likely to die, and he will propound him to the King. It will remove him from his place at sea, and the King will have a good place to bestow. He says to me, that he could wish, when my Lord comes, that he would think fit to forbear playing, as a thing below him, and which will lessen him, as it do my Lord St. Albans, in the King's esteem : and as a great secret tells me that he hath made a match for my Lord Hinchingbroke to a daughter² of my Lord Burlington's, where there is a great alliance, 10,000*l.* portion ; a civil family, and relation to my Lord Chancellor, whose son hath married one of the daughters ;³ and that my Lord Chancellor do take it with very great kindness, so that he do hold himself obliged by it. My Lord Sandwich hath referred it to my Lord Crew, Sir G. Carteret, and Mr. Montagu, to end it. My Lord Hinchingbroke and the lady

¹ At the passage of the Dardanelles, in 1807, a stone shot, fired by the Turks from the Castle of Sestos, entered the Lion, of sixty-four guns, and killed and wounded a great many men. It weighed 770 pounds.

² Lady Anne Boyle.

³ Lawrence Hyde, afterwards Earl of Rochester, married Lady Henrietta Boyle.

know nothing yet of it. It will, I think, be very happy. Home, where I settled to my chamber about my accounts till twelve at night, when news is brought me that there is a great fire in Southwarke : so we up to the leads, and then I and the boy down to the end of our lane, and there saw it, it seeming pretty great, but nothing to the fire of London, that it made me think little of it. We could at that distance see an engine play—that is, the water go out, it being moonlight. By and by, it begun to slacken, and then I home and to bed.

30th. Sir John Winter to discourse with me about the forest of Deane, and then about my Lord Treasurer, and asking me whether, as he had heard, I had not been cut for the stone, I took him to my closet, and there showed it to him, of which he took the dimensions, and I believe will show my Lord Treasurer it. I met with Mr. Pierce, and he tells me the Duke of Cambridge is very ill and full of spots about his body, that Dr. Frazier knows not what to think of it. So home and to my chamber, to my accounts and finished them to my heart's wish and admiration, they being grown very intricate, being let alone for two months, but to my sorrow the Poll money I paid this month and mourning have made me 80*l.* a worse man than at my last balance, so that I am worth now but 6,700*l.*, which is yet an infinite mercy to me, for which God make me thankful.

May 1st. To Westminster ; in the way meeting many milk-maids with their garlands upon their pails, dancing with a fiddler before them ; and saw pretty Nelly¹ standing at her lodgings' door in Drury-lane in her smock sleeves and bodice, looking upon one : she seemed a mighty pretty creature. My Lord

¹ Nell Gwyn.

Crew walked with me, giving me an account of the meeting of the Commissioners for Accounts, whereof he is one. How some of the gentlemen, Garraway, Littleton, and others, did scruple at their first coming there, being called thither to act, as Members of Parliament, which they could not do by any authority but that of the Parliament, and therefore desired the King's direction in it, which was sent for by my Lord Bridgewater,¹ who brought answer, very short, that the King expected they should obey his Commission. Then they went on, and observed a power to be given them of administering and framing an oath, which they thought they could not do by any power but Act of Parliament; and the whole Commission did think fit to have the Judges' opinion in it; and so, drawing up their scruples in writing, they all attended the King, who told them he would send to the Judges to be answered, and did so; who have, my Lord tells me, met three times about it, not knowing what answer to give to it; and they have met this week, doing nothing but expecting the solution of the judges in this point. My Lord tells me he do believe this Commission will do more hurt than good; it may undo some accounts, if these men shall think fit; but it can never clear an account, for he must come into the Exchequer for all this. Besides, it is a kind of inquisition that hath seldom, if ever, been granted in England; and he believes it will never, besides, give any satisfaction to the People or Parliament, but be looked upon as a forced, packed business of the King, especially if these Parliament-men that are of it shall not concur with them: which he doubts they will not, and, therefore, wishes much that the King would lay hold of this fit occasion, and let the Commission fall. Then to talk of my Lord Sand-

¹ John Egerton, second Earl of Bridgewater, Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Bucks and Hertford. Ob. 1686.

wich, whom my Lord Crew hath a great desire might get to be Lord Treasurer if the present Lord should die, as it is believed he will, in a little time ; and thinks he can have no competitor but my Lord Arlington, who, it is given out, desires it : but my Lord thinks not, for that the being Secretary do keep him a greater interest with the King than the other would do : at least, do believe, that if my Lord would surrender him his Wardrobe place, it would be a temptation to Arlington to assist my Lord in getting the Treasurer's. I did object to my Lord [Crew] that it would be no place of content, nor safety, nor honour for my Lord, the State being so indigent as it is, and the King so irregular, and those about him, that my Lord must be forced to part with any thing to answer his warrants ; and that, therefore, I do believe the King had rather have a man that may be one of his vicious caball, than a sober man that will mind the publick, that so they may sit at cards and dispose of the revenue of the kingdom. This my Lord was moved at, and said he did not indeed know how to answer it, and bid me think of it ; and so said he himself would also do. He do mightily cry out of the bad management of our monies, the King having had so much given him ; and yet, when the Parliament do find that the King should have 900,000*l.* in his purse by the best account of issues they have yet seen, yet we should report in the Navy a debt due from the King of 900,000*l.* ; which, I did confess, I doubted was true in the first, and knew to be true in the last, and did believe that there was some great miscarriages in it : which he owned to believe also, saying, that at this rate it is not in the power of the kingdom to make a war, nor answer the King's wants. Thence away to the King's playhouse, and saw "Love in a Maze :"¹ but a sorry play : only Lacy's

¹ The second title of Shirley's play of "The Changes."

clowne's part, which he did most admirably indeed ; and I am glad to find the rogue at liberty again. Here was but little, and that ordinary, company. We sat at the upper bench next the boxes ; and I find it do pretty well, and have the advantage of seeing and hearing the great people, which may be pleasant when there is good store. Now was only Prince Rupert and my Lord Lauderdale, and my Lord ——¹ the naming of whom puts me in mind of my seeing, at Sir Robert Viner's, two or three great silver flagons, made with inscriptions as gifts of the King to such and such persons of quality as did stay in town the late great plague, for the keeping things in order in the town. But here was neither Hart, Nell, nor Knipp ; therefore, the play was not likely to please me. Thence Sir W. Pen and I in his coach, Tiburne way, into the Park, where a horrid dust, and number of coaches, without pleasure or order. That which we, and almost all went for, was to see my Lady Newcastle ; which we could not, she being followed and crowded upon by coaches all the way she went, that nobody could come near her ; only I could see she was in a large black coach, adorned with silver instead of gold, and so white curtains, and every thing black and white, and herself in her cap. But that which I did see, and wonder at with reason, was to find Pegg Pen in a new coach, with only her husband's pretty sister² with her, both patched and very fine, and in much the finest coach in the park, and I think that ever I did see one or other, for neatness and richness in gold, and every thing that is noble. My Lady Castlemaine, the King, my Lord St. Albans, Mr. Jermyn, have not so neat a coach, that ever I saw. And, Lord ! to have them have this, and nothing else that is correspondent, is to me

¹ Probably Craven.

² Margaret Lowther, afterwards the wife of Sir John Holmes.

one of the most ridiculous sights that ever I did see, though her present dress was well enough ; but to live in the condition they do at home, and be abroad in this coach, astonishes me. When we had spent half an hour in the Park, we went out again, weary of the dust, and despairing of seeing my Lady Newcastle ; and to St. James's. But we staying by the way to drink, she got home a little before us : so we lost our labours, and then home ; where we find the two young ladies come home, and their patches off ; I suppose Sir W. Pen do not allow of them in his sight. Sir W. Pen did give me an account this afternoon of his design of buying Sir Robert Brooke's fine house at Wansted ; which I so wondered at, and did give him reasons against it, which he allowed of : and told me that he did intend to pull down the house and build a less, and that he should get 1,500*l.* by the old house, and I know not what fooleries. But I will never believe he ever intended to buy it, for my part ;¹ though he troubled Mr. Gauden to go and look upon it, and advise him in it.

2nd. To my Lord Treasurer's, who continues so ill as not to be troubled with business.

3rd. To the Duke of York's chamber, which, as it is now fretted at the top, and the chimney-piece made handsome, is one of the noblest and best-proportioned rooms that ever, I think, I saw. Among other things, we had a proposition of Mr. Pierce's, for being continued in pay, or something done for him, in reward of his pains as Chyrurgeon-Generall ; forasmuch as Troutbecke,² that was never a doctor before, hath got 200*l.* a year settled on him for nothing but that one voyage with the Duke of Albe-

¹ Pepys's conjecture proved right. The house was not sold till Sir R. Brookes's death, when his heirs alienated it to Sir Josiah Child.

² See Nov. 4, 1666, *ante*.

marle. The Duke and the whole company did show most particular kindness to Mr. Pierce, every body moving for him, and the Duke himself most, that he is likely to be a very great man, I believe. To Westminster by coach; the Cofferer¹ telling us odd stories how he was dealt with by the men of the Church at Westminster in taking a lease of them at the King's coming in,² and particularly the devilish covetousness of Dr. Busby.³ Sir Stephen Fox, in discourse, told him how he is selling some land he hath, which yields him not above three per cent., if so much, and turning it into money, which he can put out at ten per cent.; and, as times go, if they be like to continue, it is the best way for me to keep money going so, for aught I see. Took a turn with my old acquaintance Mr. Pechell, whose red nose makes me ashamed to be seen with him, though otherwise a good-natured man. So away, I not finding of Mr. Moore, with whom I should have met and spoke about a letter I this day received from him from my Lord Hinchinbroke, wherein he desires me to help him to 1,900*l.* to pay a bill of exchange of his father's, which troubles me much, but I will find some way, if I can do it, but not to bring myself in bonds or disbursements for it, whatever comes of it.

¹ William Ashburnham.

² The lease here mentioned was of one of the prebendal mansions in the Cloisters, known as Ashburnham House. The Cottonian Library was deposited in it at a later period; and, in 1731, the disastrous fire occurred there which consumed so many treasures, and injured others. It was the residence of the Rev. H. H. Milman, one of the Canons of Westminster, until his elevation to the Deanery of St. Paul's in 1849. A view of the fine staircase, still existing in old Ashburnham House, is given in Britton and Brayley's "Public Buildings."

³ Richard Busby, D.D., Master of Westminster School, and, in 1660, made a Prebendary of Westminster. He proved, at all events, a liberal benefactor to Christ Church, Oxford, and Lichfield Cathedral. Ob. 1695, aged 89.

My wife and I, it being a most curious clear evening, after some rain to-day, took a most excellent tour by coach to Bow, and there drank and back again, and so a little at the office and home to read a little and to supper and bed, mightily refreshed with this evening's tour, but troubled that it has hindered my doing some business which I would have done at the office. This day the newes is come that the fleete of the Dutch, of about 20 ships, which came upon our coasts upon design to have intercepted our colliers, but by good luck failed, is gone to the Frith, and there lies, perhaps to trouble the Scotch privateers, which have galled them of late very much, it may be more than all our last year's fleete.

4th. To the office, where a great conflict I had with Sir W. Warren, he bringing a letter to the Board, flatly in words charging them with their delays in passing his accounts, which have been with them these two years, part of which I said was not true, and the other indecent. So I writ in the margin of the letter, "Returned as untrue," and, by consent of the Board, did give it him again.

5th. (Lord's day.) Up and going down to the water side, I met Sir John Robinson and so with him by coach to White Hall, still a vain, prating, boasting man as any I know, as if the whole City and Kingdom had all its work done by him. He tells me he hath now got a street ordered to be continued, forty feet broad, from Paul's through Cannon Street to the Tower,¹ which will be very fine. He and others this day, where I was in the afternoon, do tell me of at least six or eight fires within these few days; and continually stirs of fires, and real fires there have been, in one place or other, almost ever since the late great fire, as if there was a fate sent people for

¹ Now only (June, 1853) being carried into execution.

fire. I walked over the Park to Sir W. Coventry's. Among other things to tell him what I hear of people being forced to sell their bills before September for 35 and 40 per cent. loss, and what is worst, that there are some courtiers that have made a knot to buy them, in hopes of some ways to get money of the King to pay them, which Sir W. Coventry is amazed at, and says we are a people made up for destruction, and will do what he can to prevent all this by getting the King to provide wherewith to pay them. We talked of Tangier, of which he is ashamed; also that it should put the King to this charge for no good in the world: and now a man going over that is a good soldier, but a debauched man, which the place need not to have. And so used these words: "That this place was to the King as my Lord Carnarvon¹ says of wood, that it is an excrescence of the earth provided by God for the payment of debts." So home to church, most of the best of our parish gone into the country, or at least not at church, and so to dinner, and then had a little scolding with my wife for not being fine enough to go to the christening to-day, but I was in an ill humour and ashamed, indeed, that she should not go dressed. However, friends by and by, and we went by water to Michell's, and there his little house full, and mighty merry in this innocent company, and so the child was christened; my wife, his father, and her mother, the witnesses and the child's name Elizabeth. So we had gloves and wine and wafers, very pretty, and talked and tattled, and so we away by water and up with the tide as high as Barne Elms, it being a fine evening, and back again, and then home to supper and to bed with much pleasure. This day Sir

¹ Charles Dormer, second Earl of Carnarvon. Ob., s. p., 1709. His father was killed at the battle of Newbury, fighting under the royal banner.

W. Coventry tells me the Dutch fleete shot some shot, four or five hundred, into Burnt Island in the Frith, but without any hurt ; and so are gone.

6th. Up and angry with my mayds for letting in watermen, and I know not who, anybody that they are acquainted with, into the kitchen to talk and prate with them, which I will not endure. Then to the Exchequer to consult about some way of getting our poor Creditors of the Navy, who served in their goods before the last Session of Parliament, paid out of the 11 months tax, which seems to relate only for goods to be then served in, and I think I have found out a way to bring them into the Act, which, if it do, I shall think a good service done. Thence by coach with Captain Cocke, in our way talking of my Lord Brouncker and his Lady, who are mighty angry with us all of the office, about Carcasse's business, but especially with me, and in great confidence he bids me have a care of him, for he has said that he would wound me with the person where my greatest interest is. I suppose he means Sir W. Coventry, and therefore I will beware of him, and am glad, though vexed to hear it. So home to dinner, where Creed came, whom I vexed devilishly with telling him a wise man, and good friend of his and mine, did say that he lately went into the country to Hinchingbroke ; and, at his coming to town again, had shifted his lodgings, only to avoid paying to the Poll Bill, which is so true that he blushed, and could not in words deny it, but the fellow did think to have had it not discovered. He is so devilish a subtle false rogue, that I am really weary and afeard of his company, and therefore after dinner to my office, where busy late, then home to supper and sing with my wife, who do begin to give me real pleasure with her singing.

7th. To St. James's ; but there find Sir W. Co-

ventry gone out betimes this morning, on horse-back, with the King and Duke of York, to Putney-heath, to run some horses. To dinner, where W. Hewer dined with us and he and I to discourse of Carcasse's business, wherein I apparently now do manage it wholly against my Lord Brouncker, Sir W. Pen, like a false rogue, shrinking out of the collar, Sir J. Minnes, a fool, being easily led either way, and Sir W. Batten, a malicious fellow that is not able to defend anything, so that the whole odium must fall on me. It vexes me to see with what a company I am mixed, but then it pleases me to see that I am reckoned the chief mover among them, as they do confess and esteem me in every thing.

8th. To enquire about the ground behind our house, of which I have a mind to buy enough to make a stable and coach-house ; for I do see that my condition do require it, as well as that it is more charge to my purse to live as I do than to keep one. So I home, where I find my wife's flageolette master, and I am so pleased with her proceeding, though she has lost time by not practising, that I am resolved for the encouragement of the man to learn myself a little for a month or so, for I do foresee if God send my wife and I to live, she will become very good company for me. He gone, comes Lovell with my little print of my dear Lady Castlemaine varnished, and the frame prettily done like gold, which pleases me well.

9th. Sir W. Coventry tells me he hears stories of Commissioner Pett, of selling timber to the Navy under other names, which I told him I believe is true, and did give him an instance. He told me also how his clerk Floyd he hath put away for his common idleness and ill company, and particularly that yesterday he was found not able to come and attend him, by being run into the arme in a squabble,

though he pretends it was done in the streets by strangers, at nine at night, by the Maypole in the Strand. Sir W. Coventry did write to me this morning to recommend him another, which I could find in my heart to do W. Hewer for his good ; but do believe he will not part with me, nor have I any mind to let him go. I would my brother were fit for it, I would adventure him there. He insists upon an unmarried man, that can write well, and hath French enough to transcribe it only from a copy, and may write short-hand, if it may be. To my Lord Chancellor at Clarendon House,¹ to a Committee for Tangier, where several things spoke of and proceeded on, and particularly sending Commissioners thither before the new Governor goes, which I think will signify as much good as any thing else that has been done about the place, which is none at all. I did again tell the badness of their credit by the time their tallies took before they become payable, and their spending more than their fund. They seem well satisfied with what I said, and I am glad that I may be remembered that I do tell them the case plain ; but it troubled me that I see them hot upon it, that

¹ It stood on the north side of Piccadilly, between Berkeley Street and Bond Street, and fronting St. James's Palace. "One unpopular act of his [Clarendon] is not to be forgot, because it had a great influence in a short time, and this was the building a very stately large house by the *Park*, called *Clarendon House*, which, in a little time, obtained the name of *Dunkirk House*, as though it had been built by the money taken for the sale of that place. This house was built in the Chancellor's absence in the plague year, principally at the charge of the Vintners' Company, who, designing to monopolize his favour, made it abundantly more large and magnificent than ever he intended or desired. And I have been assured by an unquestionable hand, that when he came to see the case of that house, he rather submitted than consented, and, with a sigh, said, 'This house will one day be my ruin.'"—ECHARD, vol. iii. p. 192. See 20th Feb. 1664-5, and 31st Jan. 1665-6.

the Governor shall not be paymaster, which will trouble me either to the providing one there to do it (which I will never undertake), or leave the employment, which I had rather do. Mightily pleased with the noblenesse of this house, and the brave furniture and pictures, which indeed is very noble. With Sir G. Carteret in his coach into Hyde Park, telling me all his concernments, and how he is gone through with the purchase for my Lady Jemimah and her husband; how the Treasury is like to come into the hands of a Committee; but that not that, nor anything else, will do our business, unless the King himself will mind his business, and how his servants do execute their parts: that the King is very kind to him, and to my Lord Sandwich, and that he doubts not but at his coming home, which he expects about Michaelmas, he will be very well received. My Lady Jemimah looks to lie down about two months hence. In our street, at the Three Tuns' Tavern, I find a great hubbub; and what was it but two brothers had fallen out, and one killed the other. And who should they be but the two Fieldings; one whereof, Bazill, was page to my Lady Sandwich; and he hath killed the other,¹ himself being drunk, and so is sent to Newgate.

10th. At noon to Kent's, at the Three Tuns' Tavern: and there the constable of the parish did show us the picklocks and dice that were found in the dead man's pocket, and but 18*d.* in money: and a table-book, wherein were entered the names of several places where he was to go; and among others Kent's house, where he was to dine, and did dine yesterday: and after dinner went into the church,

¹ It was Basil who was killed. He was the fourth son of George Fielding, Earl of Desmond, who died v. p., and whose eldest son, on the death of his grandfather, succeeded to the Earldom of Denbigh.

and there saw his corpse with the wound in his left breast ; a sad spectacle, and a broad wound, which makes my hand now shake to write of it. His brother intending, it seems, to kill the coachman, who did not please him, this fellow stepped in, and took away his sword ; who thereupon took out his knife, which was of the fashion, with a falchion blade, and a little cross at the hilt like a dagger ; and with that stabbed him. Drove hard towards Clerkenwell,¹ thinking to have overtaken my Lady Newcastle, whom I saw before us in her coach, with 100 boys and girls running looking upon her : but I could not : and so she got home before I could come up to her. But I will get a time to see her.

11th. Up, and being called on by Mr. Commander, he and I out to the ground behind Sir W. Pen's, where I am resolved to take a lease of some of it for a stable and coach-house, and so to keep a coach, unless some change come before I can do it, for I do see it is greater charge to me now in hacknies, and I am a little dishonoured by going in them. So home, and there found my door open, which makes me very angry with Nell, and do think to put her away for it, though it do so go against me to part with a servant that it troubles me more than anything in the world. So away with my wife, whose being dressed this day in fair hair did make me so mad, that I spoke not one word to her in our going, though I was ready to burst with anger. So to White Hall to the Committee of Tangier, where they were discoursing about laws for the civil government of the place, but so dull and so little to the purpose that I fell to slumber, when the fear of being seen by Sir W. Coventry did trouble me much afterwards, but I hope he did not. After that, Creed and I into the Park, and walked, a

¹ Where part of old Newcastle House still exists.

most pleasant evening, and so took coach, and took up my wife, and in my way home discovered my trouble to my wife for her white locks, swearing several times, which I pray God forgive me for, and bending my fist, that I would not endure it. She, poor wretch, was surprized with it, and made me no answer all the way home; but there we parted, and I to the office late, and then home, and without supper to bed, vexed.

12th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to my chamber, to settle some accounts there, and by and by down comes my wife to me in her night-gown, and we begun calmly, that upon having money to lace her gown for second mourning, she would promise to wear white locks no more in my sight, which I, like a severe fool, thinking not enough, begun to except against, and made her fly out to very high terms and cry, and in her heat told me of keeping company with Mrs. Knipp, saying, that if I would promise never to see her more—of whom she hath more reason to suspect than I had heretofore of Pemberton—she would never wear white locks more. This vexed me, but I restrained myself from saying anything, but do think never to see this woman—at least, to have her here more, but by and by I did give her money to buy lace, and she promised to wear no more white locks while I lived, and so all very good friends as ever. My wife and I bethought ourselves to go to a French house to dinner, and so enquired out Monsieur Robins, my perriwigg-maker, who keeps an ordinary, and in an ugly street in Covent Garden, did find him at the door, and so we in; and in a moment almost had the table covered, and clean glasses, and all in the French manner, and a mess of potage first, and then a couple of pigeons, and then a piece of bœuf-a-la-mode, all exceeding well seasoned, and to our great liking; at least it would have

been anywhere else but in this bad street, and in a perriwigg-maker's house ; but to see the pleasant and ready attendance that we had, and all things so desirous to please, and ingenious in the people, did take me mightily. Our dinner cost us 6s. Walked over the fields to Kingsland, and back again ; a walk, I think, I have not taken these twenty years ; but puts me in mind of my boy's time, when I boarded at Kingsland, and used to shoot with my bow and arrows in these fields. A very pretty place it is ; and little did any of my friends think I should come to walk in these fields in this condition and state that I am. Then took coach again, and home through Shoreditch ; and at home my wife finds Barker to have been abroad, and telling her so many lies about it, that she struck her, and the wench said she would not stay with her : so I examined the wench, and found her in so many lies myself, that I was glad to be rid of her, and so resolved having her go away to-morrow.

13th. My wife rising to send away Barker, according to our resolution last night, and she did do it with more clothes than have cost us 10*l.*, and 20*s.* in her purse, which I did for the respect I bear Mr. Falconbridge, otherwise she had not deserved half of it. This morning came Sir H. Cholmly to me for a tally or two ; and tells me that he hears that we are by agreement to give the King of France Nova Scotia, which he do not like : but I do not know the importance of it.¹ Sir Philip Warwick do

¹ Nova Scotia and the adjoining countries were called by the French ACADIE. Pepys is not the only official personage whose ignorance of Nova Scotia is on record. A story is current of a prime minister who was surprised at hearing Cape Breton was an island. "Egad, I'll go tell the King Cape Breton is an island !" Of the same it is said, that when told Annapolis was in danger, and ought to be defended : "Oh ! certainly Annapolis must be defended,—where is Annapolis ?"

please himself, like a good man, to tell some of the good ejaculations of my Lord Treasurer concerning the little worth of this world, to buy it with so much pain, and other things fit for a dying man.

14th. To my Lord Chancellor's, where I met Mr. Povy, expecting the coming of the rest of the Commissioners for Tangier. Here I understand how the two Dukes, both the only sons of the Duke of York, are sick even to danger, and that on Sunday last they were both so ill, as that the poor Duchess was in doubt which would die first: the Duke of Cambridge of some general disease; the other little Duke,¹ whose title I know not, of the convulsion fits, of which he had four this morning. Fear that either of them might be dead, did make us think that it was the occasion that the Duke of York and others were not come to the meeting of the Commission which was designed, and my Lord Chancellor did expect. And it was pretty to observe how, when my Lord sent down to St. James's to see why the Duke of York came not, and Mr. Povy, who went, returned, my Lord (Chancellor) did ask, not how the Princes or the Dukes do, as other people do, but "How do the children?" which methought was mighty great, and like a great man and grandfather. I find every body mightily concerned for these children, as a matter wherein the State is much concerned that they should live.

15th. This morning my wife had some things brought home by a new woman of the New Exchange, one Mrs. Smith, whom she would have me see for her fine hand, and indeed it is a fine hand, and the woman I have observed is a mighty pretty looked woman. To the Duke of York's chamber, who, when ready, we to our usual business, and I

¹ Charles Stuart, Duke of Kendal, born 1666.

presented our report about Carcasse, and did afterwards read it with that success that the Duke of York was for punishing him, not only with turning him out of the office, but what other punishment he could, which nobody did forward, and so he escaped, only he giving security to secure the King against double tickets of his and other things that he might have wronged the King or subject in before his dismissal. It happened that my Lord Arlington coming in by chance was at the hearing of all this, which I was not sorry for, for he did move or did second the Duke of York that this roguery of his might be put in the News-book that it might be made publique to satisfy for the wrong the credit of this office has received by this rogue's occasion. So with utmost content I away with Sir G. Carteret to London, talking all the way ; and he do tell me that the business of my Lord Hinchinbroke his marriage with my Lord Burlington's daughter is concluded on by all friends ; and that my Lady is now told of it, and do mightily please herself with it ; which I am mighty glad of. News still that my Lord Treasurer is so ill as not to be any man of this world ; and it is said that the Treasury shall be managed by Commission. I would to God Sir G. Carteret, or my Lord Sandwich, be in it ! But the latter is the more fit for it. This day going to White Hall, Sir W. Batten did tell me strange stories of Sir W. Pen, how he is already ashamed of the fine coach which his son-in-law and daughter have made and indeed it is one of the most ridiculous things for people of their low, mean fashion to make such a coach that ever I saw. He tells me how his people come as they do to mine every day to borrow one thing or other, and that his Lady has been forced to sell some coals in the late dear time, only to enable her to pay money that she has borrowed of Griffin to defray her family

expense, which is a strange story for a rogue that spends so much money on clothes and other occasions himself as he do.

16th. This being Holy Thursday, when the boys go on procession round the parish, we were to go to the Three Tuns' Tavern, to dine with the rest of the parish; where all the parish almost was, Sir Andrew Rickard and others; and of our house, J. Minnes, W. Batten, W. Pen, and myself; and Mr. Mills did sit uppermost at the table. Here we were informed that the report of our Embassadors being ill received in their way to Bredah is not true, but that they are received with very great civility, which I am glad to hear. But that that did vex me was that among all us there should come in Mr. Carcasse to be a guest for his money (5s. a piece) as well as any of us. So we sat down, and to dinner. Among other things Sir John Fredericke¹ and Sir R. Ford did talk of Paul's School, which, they tell me, must be taken away;² and then I fear it will be long before another place, as they say is promised, is found; but they do say that the honour of their company³ is concerned in the doing of it, and that it is a thing that they are obliged to do. To my Lord Treasurer's, where I find the porter crying, and suspected it was that my Lord is dead; and, poor Lord! we did find that he was dead just now; and the crying of the fellow did so trouble me, that considering I was not likely to trouble him any more, nor have occasion to give any more, I did give him 3s.; but it may be, poor man, he hath lost a consider-

¹ Lord Mayor of London, 1662, and President of Christ's Hospital. His eldest son, John, was created a Baronet, 1723.

² St. Paul's School still occupies the same site as in Pepys's time.

³ The Mercers' Company, under whose superintendence St. Paul's School was placed by Dean Colet, the Founder.

able hope by the death of his Lord, whose house will be no more frequented. There is a good man gone : and I pray God that the Treasury may not be worse managed by the hand or hands it shall now be put into ; though, for certain, the slowness, though he was of great integrity, of this man, and remissness, have gone as far to undo the nation, as anything else that hath happened ; and yet, if I knew all the difficulties that he hath lain under, and his instrument Sir Philip Warwick, I might be brought to another mind. It is remarkable that this afternoon Mr. Moore came to me, and there, among other things, did tell me how Mr. Moyer,¹ the merchant, having procured an order from the King and Duke of York and Council, with the consent of my Lord Chancellor, and by assistance of Lord Arlington, for the releasing out of prison his brother, Samuel Moyer, who was a great man in the late times in Haberdashers'-hall, and was engaged under hand and seal to give the man that obtained it so much in behalf of my Lord Chancellor ; but it seems my Lady Duchess of Albemarle had before undertaken it for so much money, but hath not done it. The Duke of Albemarle did the next day send for this Moyer, to tell him, that notwithstanding this order of the King and Council's being passed for release of his brother, yet, if he did not consider the pains of some friends of his, he would stop that order. This Moyer being an honest, bold man, told him that he was engaged to the hand that had done the thing to give him a reward ; and more he could not give, nor could own any kindness done by his Grace's interest ;

¹ Lawrence Moyer, of Low Leyton, in Essex, whose son, of the same name, was afterwards Sir Samuel Moyer, Bart., and High Sheriff of Essex, in 1698. He had also been one of the Council of State. His widow, Rebecca, daughter of Alderman Sir William Joliffe, founded the well-known Lady Moyer's Lectures.

and so parted. The next day Sir Edward Savage did take the said Moyer in tax about it, giving ill words of this Moyer and his brother ; which he not being able to bear, told him he would give to the person that had engaged him what he promised, and not any thing to any body else ; and that both he and his brother were as honest men as himself, or any man else ; and so sent him going, and bid him do his worst. It is one of the most extraordinary cases that ever I saw or understood ; but it is true.

17th. To the office, where all the morning upon some accounts of Mr. Gauden's, and at noon to the 3 Tuns to dinner, where very merry and my Lord Brouncker in appearance as good friends as ever, though I know he has a hatred to me in heart. After dinner to my house, and there comes the flageolet master, who having had a bad bargain of teaching my wife by the year, she not practising so much as she should do, I did think that the man did deserve some more consideration, and so will give him an opportunity of 20s. a month more, and he shall teach me, and this afternoon I begin, and I think it will be a few shillings well spent. Then to Sir R. Viners with 600 pieces of gold to turn into silver, for the enabling me to answer Sir G. Carteret's 3,000*l.* ; which he now draws all out of my hand towards the paying for a purchase he hath made for his son and my Lady Jemimah, in Northamptonshire,¹ of Sir Samuel Luke,² in a good place ; a good

¹ An error for Bedfordshire. The place was Hawnes, which belonged to the Lukes of Cople, who, about 1654, had sold it to Sir Humphrey Winch, from whom, and not directly from Sir Samuel Luke, Sir George Carteret purchased it in 1667. The son by this marriage was created Lord Carteret, of Hawnes, in 1681.

² Sir Samuel Luke, of Cople, in Bedfordshire, which county he represented in the Long Parliament. He was knighted in 1624, and has been generally considered as the original Hudibras of Butler.

house, and near all her friends ; which is a very happy thing.

18th. After dinner to the office, and then to walk an hour in the garden talking with my wife, whose growth in musique do begin to please me mightily, and by and by home and there find our Luce drunk, and when her mistress told her of it would be gone, and so put up some of her things and did go away of her owne accord, nobody pressing her to it, and the truth is, though she be the dirtiest, homeliest servant that ever I kept, yet I was sorry to have her go, partly through my love to my servants, and partly because she was a very drudging, working wench, only she would be drunk.

19th. (Lord's day.) To church, where my old acquaintance, that dull fellow, Meriton, made a good sermon, and hath a strange knack of a grave, serious delivery, which is very agreeable. Great talk of the good end that my Lord Treasurer made ; closing his owne eyes and setting his mouth, and bidding adieu with the greatest content and freedom in the world ; and is said to die with the cleanest hands that ever any Lord Treasurer did. Mr. Howe to see us ; and, among other things, told us how the Barristers and Students of Gray's Inne rose in rebellion against the Benchers the other day, who outlawed them, and a great deal of do ; but now they are at peace again.

20th. Among other news, I hear that the Commissioners for the Treasury were named by the King yesterday ; but who they are nobody could tell : but the persons are the Lord Chancellor, the two Secretaries, Lord Ashly, and others say Sir W. Coventry and Sir John Duncomb, but all conclude the Duke of Albemarle ; but reports do differ. It being a broken day, did walk abroad, first through the Minorys, the first time I have been over the Hill to the postern-gate, and seen the place, since

the houses were pulled down about that side of the Tower, since the fire. I find it everywhere doubted whether we shall have a peace or no, and the captain of one of our ships that went with the Embassadors do say, that the seamen of Holland in his hearing did defy us, and called us English dogs, and cried out against peace, and that the great people there do oppose peace, though he says the common people do wish it.

21st. To Lincolne's Inne Fields, and there viewed several coach-houses. Thence home; but, Lord! how it went against my heart to go away from the very door of the Duke's play-house, and my Lady Castlemaine's coach, and many great coaches there, to see "The Siege of Rhodes." I was very near making a forfeit, but I did command myself. Mrs. Turner and I sat up, talking alone of our neighbours. As to my Lord Brouncker, she says how Mrs. Griffin, our housekeeper's wife, hath it from his maid, that comes to her house often, that they are very poor; that the other day Mrs. Williams was fain to send a jewell to pawn; that my Lord hath put the King to infinite charge since his coming thither, and hath had of Foly, the ironmonger, 50*l.* worth in locks and keys for his house, having some of 4*l.* and 5*l.* a lock, such as is in ladies' closets; that he do not keep Mrs. Williams now for love, but need, he having another mistress that he keeps in Covent Garden. Then we fell to talk of Sir W. Pen, and his family and rise. She [Mrs. Turner] says that he was a pityfull [fellow] when she first knew them; that his lady was one of the sourest, dirty women, that ever she saw; that they took two chambers, one over another, for themselves and child, in Tower Hill; that for many years together they eat more meals at her house than at their own; did call brothers and sisters the husbands and wives; that her husband was godfather to one,

and she godmother to another, this Margaret, of their children, by the same token that she was fain to write with her own hand a letter to Captain Twiddy, to stand for a godfather for her ; that she brought my Lady, who then was a dirty slattern, with her stockings hanging about her heels, so that afterwards the people of the whole Hill did say that Mrs. Turner had made Mrs. Pen a gentlewoman, first to the knowledge of my Lady Vane,¹ Sir Henry's lady, and him to the knowledge of most of the great people that then he sought to, and that in short his rise hath been his giving of large bribes, wherein, and she agrees with my opinion and knowledge before therein, he is very profuse. This made him General ; this got him out of the Tower when he was in ; and hath brought him into what he is now, since the King's coming in : that long ago, indeed, he would drink the King's health privately with Mr. Turner ; but that when he saw it fit to turn Round-head, and was offered by Mr. Turner to drink the King's health, he answered " No ;" he was changed, and now he that would make him drink the King's health, or any health but the Protector's and the State's, or to that purpose, he would be the first man should sheath his sword in his guts. That at the King's coming in, he did send for her husband, and told him what a great man Sir W. Coventry was like to be, and that he having all the records in his hands of the Navy, if he would transcribe what was of most present use of the practice of the Navy, and give them him to give Sir W. Coventry from him, it would undoubtedly do his business of getting him a principal officer's place ; that her husband was at 5*l.* charge to get these presently writ ; that Sir W. Pen did give them Sir W. Coventry as from himself, which did

¹ Lady Vane was Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, Bart., of Ashby, Lincolnshire.

set him up with W. Coventry, and made him what he is, and never owned any thing of Mr. Turner in them ; by which he left him in the lurch, though he did promise the Duke of Albemarle to do all that was possible, and made no question of Mr. Turner's being what he desired ; and when afterwards, too, did propose to him the getting of the Purveyor's place for him, he did tell Mr. Turner it was necessary to present Sir W. Coventry 100 pieces, which he did, and W. Coventry took 80 of them : so that he was W. Coventry's mere broker, as Sir W. Batten and my Lady did once tell my Lady Duchess of Albemarle, in the case of Mr. Falconer, whom W. Pen made to give W. Coventry 200*l.* for his place of Clerk of the Rope Yard of Woolwich, and to settle 80*l.* a year upon his daughter Pegg, after the death of his wife, and a gold watch presently to his wife. That my Lady and Pegg have themselves owned to her that Sir W. Coventry and Sir W. Pen had private marks to write to one another by, that when they in appearance writ a fair letter in behalf of anybody, that they had a little mark to show they meant it only in show : this, these silly people did confess themselves of him. She says that their son, Mr. William Pen, did tell her that his father did observe the commanders did make their applications to me, but they should know that his father should be chief of the office, and that she hath observed that Sir W. Pen never had a kindness to her son, since Sir W. Pen told her son that he had applied himself to me. That his rise hath been by her and her husband's means, and that it is a most inconceivable thing how this man can have the face to use her and her family with the neglect that he do them. That he was in the last war a most devilish plunderer, and that got him his estate, which he hath in Ireland, and nothing else. That her husband's not being forward to make

him a bill for Rear Admiral's pay and Generall's pay both at the same time after he was first made Generall did first give him occasion of keeping a distance from him, since which they have never been great friends, Pen having by degrees been continually growing higher and higher, till now that he do wholly slight them and use them only as servants. Upon the whole, she told me stories enough to confirm me that he is the most false fellow that ever was born of woman, and that so she thinks and knows him to be.

22nd. Up, and by water to White Hall to Sir G. Carteret, who tells me now for certain how the Commission for the Treasury is disposed of: viz., to Duke of Albemarle, Lord Ashly, Sir W. Coventry, Sir John Duncomb,¹ and Sir Thomas Clifford: at which, he says, all the whole Court is disturbed; it having been once concluded otherwise into the other hands formerly mentioned in yesterday's notes, but

¹ Burnet says of Sir John Duncomb, that "he was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raise enemies. He was an able Parliament-man, but could not go into all the designs of the Court; for he had a sense of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country." ("Own Time," vol. i. p. 437, ed. 1833.) Duncomb's removal from the Ordnance to the Treasury is not overlooked by Marvel ("Works," vol. iii. p. 391):—

"*Southampton* dead, much of the treasure's care
And place in council fell to *Duncomb's* share.
All men admired, he to that pitch could fly,
Powder ne'er blew man up so soon, so high;
But, sure his late good husbandry in petre [saltpetre],
Showed him to manage the Exchequer meeter;
And who the forts would not vouchsafe a corn,
To lavish the King's money more would scorn,
Who hath no chimneys to give all is best;
And ablest speaker who of law hath least,
Who less estate for Treasurer most fit,
And for a Chancellor he that has least wit.
But the true cause was, that in's brother *May*,
Th' exchequer might the privy-purse obey."

all of a sudden the King's choice was changed, and these are to be the men ; the first of which is only for a puppet to give honour to the rest. He do presage that these men will make it their business to find faults in the management of the late Lord Treasurer, and in discouraging the bankers : but I am, whatever I in compliance do say to him, of another mind, and my heart is very glad of it, for I do expect they will do much good, and that it is the happiest thing that hath appeared to me for the good of the nation since the King came in. Thence to St. James's, and up to the Duke of York ; and there in his chamber Sir W. Coventry did of himself take notice of this business of the Treasury, wherein he is in the Commission, and desired that I would be thinking of any thing fit for him to be acquainted with for the lessening of charge and bettering of our credit, and what our expence hath been since the King's coming home, which he believes will be one of the first things they shall enquire into : which I promised him, and from time to time, which he desires, will give him an account of what I can think of worthy his knowledge. I am mighty glad of this opportunity of professing my joy to him in what choice the King hath made, and the hopes I have that it will save the kingdom from perishing : and how it do encourage me to take pains again, after my having through despair neglected it ! which he told me of himself that it was so with him, that he had given himself up to more ease than ever he expected, and that his opinion of matters was so bad, that there was no publick employment in the kingdom should have been accepted by him but this which the King hath now given him ; and therein he is glad, in hopes of the service he may do therein ; and in my conscience he will. So into the Duke of York's closet ; and there, among other things, Sir W. Coventry did take notice

of what he told me the other day, about a report of Commissioner Pett's dealing for timber in the Navy, and selling it to us in other names ; and, besides his own proof, did produce a paper I had given him this morning about it, in the case of Widow Murford and Morecocke, which was so handled, that the Duke of York grew very angry, and commanded us presently to fall into the examination of it, saying that he would not trust a man for his sake that lifts up the whites of his eyes. And it was declared that if he be found to have done so, he should be reckoned unfit to serve the Navy ; and I do believe he will be turned out ; and it was, methought, a worthy saying of Sir W. Coventry to the Duke of York, "Sir," says he, "I do not make this complaint out of any disrespect to Commissioner Pett, but because I do love to do these things fairly and openly." Thence I to Westminster Hall to the Chequer Chamber to hear our cause of the Lindeboome prize there before the Lords of Appeal, where was Lord Ashly, Arlington, Barkely, and Sir G. Carteret, but the latter three signified nothing, the former only either minding or understanding what was said. Here was good pleading of Sir Walter Walker's and worth hearing, but little done in our business. So to the Change, where most of the newes is that the Swedes are likely to fall out with the Dutch, which we wish, but how true I know not. Here I met my uncle Wight, the second day he has been abroad, having been sick these two months even to death, but having never sent to me even in the greatest of his danger. I do think my Aunt had no mind I should come, and so I never went to see him, but neither he took notice of it to me, nor I made any excuse for it to him, but past two or three, How do you's, and so parted and so home, and by and by comes my poor father, much better than I expected. I am mighty glad to see him come

well to town. To the King's house, where I did give 18*d.*, and saw the two last acts of "The Goblins,"¹ a play I could not make any thing of by these two acts, but here Knipp spied me out of the tiring-room, and came to the pit door, and I out to her, and kissed her, she only coming to see me, being in a country-dress, she and others having, it seemed, had a country-dance in the play, but she no other part: so we parted, and I into the pit again till it was done. The house full, but I had no mind to be seen. To Sir W. Batten's, and there got some more part of my dividend of the prize-money. So home and to supper and my wife to her flageolet, wherein she did take out a tune so prettily of herself, that I was infinitely pleased beyond whatever I expected from her. This day coming from Westminster with W. Batten, we saw at White Hall stairs a fisher-boat, with a sturgeon that he had newly caught in the River; which I saw, but it was but a little one; but big enough to prevent my mistake of that for a colt, if ever I become Mayor of Huntingdon.²

23rd. Home, and with my father dined, and, poor man! he hath put off his travelling-clothes to-day, and is mighty spruce, and I love to see him cheerful. Sir John Duncomb is sworn yesterday a Privy-councillor. This day I hear also that last night the Duke of Kendall, second son of the Duke of York, did die; and that the other, Duke of Cambridge, continues very ill still.

¹ A comedy, by Sir John Suckling.

² During a very high flood in the meadows between Huntingdon and Godmanchester, something was seen floating, which the Godmanchester people thought was a black *pig*, and the Huntingdon folk declared it was a *sturgeon*; when rescued from the waters, it proved to be a *young donkey*. This mistake led to the one party being styled "Godmanchester black pigs," and the other "Huntingdon Sturgeons," terms not altogether forgotten at this day. Pepys's *colt* must be taken to be the *colt of an ass*.

24th. My wife not well, but yet engaged by invitation to go with Sir W. Pen. I got her to go with him by coach to Islington to the old house, where his lady and Madam Lowther,¹ with her exceeding fine coach and mean horses, and her mother-in-law did meet us, and two of Mr. Lowther's brothers,² and here dined upon nothing but pigeon-pyes, which was such a thing for him to invite all the company to, that I was ashamed. But after dinner was all our sport, when there come in a juggler, who, indeed, did shew us so good tricks as I have never seen in my life, I think, of legerdemaine, and such as my wife hath since seriously said that she would not believe but that he did them by the help of the devil. Here, after a bad dinner, and but ordinary company, saving that I discern good parts in one of the sons, who, methought, did take me up very prettily in one or two things that I said, we broke up, and my wife and I and Sir W. Pen to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Mayden Queene,"³ which, though I have often seen, yet pleases me infinitely, it being impossible, I think, ever to have the Queen's part, which is very good and passionate, and Florimel's part, which is the most comical that ever was made for woman, ever done better than they two are by young Marshall and Nelly.

25th. At noon came Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and dined with me. About 4 o'clock comes Mrs. Pierce

¹ Mary, widow of Morgan Davis, Esq., the third wife of Alderman Robert Lowther, was the lady here referred to.

² According to Collins, Anthony Lowther had but one brother, John, a merchant at Dantzic, and one of the Commissioners of Revenue in Ireland. See Collins, vol. v. p. 702. Anthony Lowther, who married Margaret Penn, was the son of Elizabeth, daughter of William Holcroft, Esq., *second* wife of Robert Lowther, of Marske, co. York, and Alderman of London, who died 1655.

³ "Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen," a tragi-comedy, by J. Dryden.

to see my wife, and I into them, and there find Pierce very fine, and in her own hair, which do become her, and so says my wife, ten times better than lighter hair, her complexion being mighty good.

26th. (Lord's day.) My wife and I to church, where several strangers of good condition came to our pew. After dinner I by water alone to Westminster to the parish church,¹ and there did entertain myself with my perspective glass up and down the church, by which I had the great pleasure of seeing and gazing at a great many very fine women; and what with that, and sleeping, I passed away the time till sermon was done. I away to my boat, and, up with it as far as Barne Elmes, reading of Mr. Evelyn's late new book against Solitude,² in which I do not find much excess of good matter, though it be pretty for a bye discourse. I walked the length of the Elmes, and with great pleasure saw some gallant ladies and people come with their bottles, and basket, and chairs, and form, to sup under the trees, by the waterside, which was mighty pleasant. I to boat again and to my book, and having done that I took another book, Mr. Boyle's of Colours, and there read, where I laughed, finding many fine things worthy observation, and so home, where I find my poor father newly come out of an unexpected fit of his pain. But the poor man's patience under it and his good heart and humour as soon as he was out of it did so work upon me that my heart was sad to think of his condition, but do hope that a way will be found to relieve him. By and by to supper, all our discourse about Brampton, and my intentions

¹ St. Margaret's.

² "15th February, 1666-7. My little book in answer to Sir George Mackenzie was now published, entitled 'Public Employment and an Active Life, with its Appendages, preferred to Solitude.'"—EVELYN'S *Diary*.

to build there if I could be free of my engagement to my Uncle Thomas and his son, that they may not have what I have built, against my will, in case of me and my brothers being without heirs male ; which is the true reason why I am against laying out money upon that place, together with my fear of some inconvenience by being so near Hinchinbroke ; being obliged to be a servant to that family, and subject to what expence they shall cost me ; and to have all that I shall buy, or do, esteemed as got by the death of my uncle, when indeed what I have from him is not worth naming.

27th. There came Richardson, the bookbinder, with one of Ogilby's¹ Bibles in quires for me to see and buy, it being Mr. Cade's, my stationer's ; but it is like to be so big that I shall not use it. The new Commissioners of the Treasury have chosen Sir G. Downing for their Secretary : and I think in my conscience they have done a great thing in it ; for he is active and a man of business, and values himself upon having of things do well under his hand ; so that I am mightily pleased in their choice. Abroad, and stopped at the Bear-garden stairs,² there to see a prize fought. But the house so full there was no getting in there, so forced to go through an alehouse into the pit, where the bears are baited ; and upon a stool did see them fight, which they did very furiously, a butcher and a waterman. The former had the better all along, till by and by the latter dropped his sword out of his hand, and the butcher, whether not seeing his sword dropped I know not, but did give him a cut over the wrist, so as he was disabled to fight any longer. But, Lord ! to see how in a minute the whole stage was full of watermen to revenge the foul play, and the butchers to defend their fellow,

¹ See 19th February, 1665-6.

² At Bankside.

though most blamed him ; and there they all fell to it to knocking down and cutting many on each side. It was pleasant to see, but that I stood in the pit, and feared that in the tumult I might get some hurt. At last the rabble broke up, and so I away. The Duke of Cambridge very ill still.

28th. Up, and by coach to St. James's, where I find Sir W. Coventry desirous to have spoke with me. It was to read over a draught of a letter which he hath made for his brother Commissioners and him to sign to us, demanding an account of the whole business of the Navy accounts ; and I perceive, by the way he goes about it, that they will do admirable things. He tells me that they have chosen Sir G. Downing their Secretary, who will be as fit a man as any in the world : and he said, by the by, speaking of the bankers being fearful of Sir G. Downing's being Secretary, he being their enemy, that they did not intend to be ruled by their Secretary, but do the business themselves. My heart is glad to see so great hopes of good to the nation as will be by these men ; and it do me good to see Sir W. Coventry so cheerfull as he now is on the same score. My wife away down with Jane and W. Hewer to Woolwich, in order to a little ayre and to lie there to-night, and so to gather May-dew¹ to-morrow morning, which Mrs. Turner hath taught her is the only thing in the world to wash her face with ; and I am contented with it. I by water to Fox-hall, and there walked in Spring Garden. A great deal of com-

¹ If we are to credit the following paragraph, extracted from the "Morning Post" of 2nd May, 1791, the virtues of May dew were then still held in some estimation ; for it records that "on the day preceding, according to annual and superstitious custom, a number of persons went into the fields, and bathed their faces with the dew on the grass, under the idea that it would render them beautiful."—HONE'S *Every Day Book*, vol. ii. p. 611. Aubrey speaks of May dew as "a great dissolvent."—*Miscellanies*, p. 183.

pany, and the weather and garden pleasant : and it is very pleasant and cheap going thither, for a man may go to spend what he will, or nothing, all is one. But to hear the nightingale and other birds, and here fiddles, and there a harp, and here a Jew's trumpet, and here laughing, and there fine people walking, is mighty divertising. Among others, there were two pretty women alone, that walked a great while, which being discovered by some idle gentlemen, they would needs take them up ; but to see the poor ladies how they were put to it to run from them, and they after them, and sometimes the ladies put themselves along with other company, then the other drew back ; at last, the last did get off out of the house, and took boat and away. I was troubled to see them abused so ; and could have found in my heart, as little desire of fighting as I have, to have protected the ladies. So home. My father gone to bed, and wife abroad at Woolwich, I to Sir W. Pen, where he and his Lady and Pegg and pretty Mrs. Lowther her sister-in-law at supper, where I sat and talked, and Sir W. Pen, half drunk, did talk like a fool and vex his wife, that I was half pleased and half vexed to see so much folly and rudeness from him, and so late home to bed.

29th. Our parson Mills having the offer of another benefice¹ by Sir Robert Brookes, who was his pupil, he by my Lord Barkeley [of Stratton] is made one of the Duke's Chaplains, which qualifies him for two livings. But to see how slightly such things are done, the Duke of York only taking my Lord Barkeley's word upon saying, that we the officers of the Navy do say that he is a good man and minister of our parish, and the Duke of York admits him to kiss his hand, but speaks not one word to him ; but

¹ The rectory of Wanstead, in Essex, to which he was presented.

so a warrant will be drawn from the Duke of York to qualify him, and there's an end of it. So we into the Duke's closett, where little to do, but complaint for want of money and a motion of Sir W. Coventry's that we should all now bethink ourselves of lessening charge to the King, which he said was the only way he saw likely to put the King out of debt, and this puts me upon thinking to offer something presently myself to prevent its being done in a worse manner without me relating to the Victualling business, which, as I may order it, I think may be done and save myself something. My wife comes home from Woolwich, but did not dine with me, going to dress herself against night, to go to Mrs. Pierce's to be merry, where we are to have Knipp and Harris and other good people. I at my accounts. Anon comes down my wife, dressed in her second mourning, with her black moyre waistcoat, and short petticoat, laced with silver lace so basely that I could not endure to see her, and with laced lining, which is too soon, so that I was horrid angry, and went out of doors to the office and there staid, and would not go to our intended meeting, which vexed me to the blood, and my wife sent twice or thrice to me, to direct her any way to dress her, but to put on her cloth gown, which she would not venture, which made me mad : and so in the evening to my chamber, vexed, and to my accounts, which I ended to my great content, and did make amends for the loss of our mirth this night, by getting this done.

30th. After dinner I walked to Arundell House, the way very dusty, the day of meeting of the Society being changed from Wednesday to Thursday, which I knew not before, because the Wednesday is a Council-day, and several of the Council are of the Society, and would come but for their attending the King at Council ; where I find much company, in-

deed very much company, in expectation of the Duchess of Newcastle,¹ who had desired to be invited to the Society ; and was, after much debate, *pro* and *con.*, it seems many being against it ; and we do believe the town will be full of ballads of it. Anon comes the Duchess with her women attending her ; among others, the Ferabosco,² of so much talk is that her lady would bid her show her face and kill the gallants. She is indeed black, and hath good black little eyes, but otherwise but a very ordinary woman I do think, but they say sings well. The Duchess hath been a good, comely woman ; but her dress so antick, and her deportment so ordinary, that I do not like her at all, nor did I hear her say any thing that was worth hearing, but that she was full of admiration, all admiration. Several fine experiments were shown her of colours, loadstones, microscopes, and of liquors : among others, of one that did, while she was there, turn a piece of roasted mutton into pure blood, which was very rare. Here was Mrs. Moore of Cambridge, whom I had not seen before, and I was glad to see her ; as also a very pretty black boy that run up and down the room, somebody's child in Arundell House. After they had shown her many experiments, and she cried still she was full of admiration, she departed, being led out and in by several Lords that were there ; among others Lord George Barkeley and Earl of Carlisle, and a very pretty young man, the Duke of Somerset.³

31st. At the Treasury chamber. Here I saw

¹ Evelyn also gives an account of this visit.

² Was she of the family of Alfonso Ferrabosco, who, in 1609, published a book of "Ayres," containing a sonnet addressed to the author by Ben Jonson ?

³ Francis Seymour, fifth Duke of Somerset, murdered in Italy, 1678.

Duncomb look as big, and take as much state on him, as if he had been born a lord. Here I met with Sir H. Cholmly, who tells me that he is told this day by Secretary Morris that he believes we are, and shall be, only fooled by the French ; and that the Dutch are very high and insolent, and do look upon us as come over only to beg a peace ; which troubles me very much, and I do fear it is true. Thence to Sir G. Carteret at his lodgings ; who, I perceive, is mightily displeased with these new Treasurers ; and he hath reason, for it will eclipse him ; and he tells me that my Lord Ashly says they understand nothing ; and he says he believes the King do not intend they shall sit long. But I believe no such thing, but that the King will find such benefit by them as he will desire to have them continue, as we see he hath done, in the late new Act that was so much decried about the King ; but yet the King hath since permitted it, and found good by it. He says, and I believe, that a great many persons at Court are angry at the rise of this Duncomb, whose father, he tells me, was a long-Parliament-man, and a great Committee-man ; and this fellow used to carry his papers to Committees after him : he was a kind of an attorney : but for all this, I believe this man will be a great man, in spite of all. In the evening home, and there, to my unexpected satisfaction, did get my intricate accounts of interest, which have been of late much perplexed by mixing of some moneys of Sir G. Carteret's with mine, evened and set right : and so late to supper, and with great quiet to bed ; finding by the balance of my account that I am creditor 6,900*l.*, for which the Lord of Heaven be praised !

June 1st. Up ; and there comes to me Mr. Commander, whom I employ about hiring of some ground behind the office, for the building of me a stable and coach-house : for I do find it necessary for me, both

in respect of honour and the profit of it also, my expense in hackney-coaches being now so great, to keep a coach, and therefore will do it. Having given him some instructions about it, I to the office; where we have news that our peace with Spain, as to trade, is wholly concluded, and we are to furnish him with some men for Flanders against the French. How that will agree with the French, I know not; but they say that he also hath liberty to get what men he pleases out of England. But for the Spaniard, I hear that my Lord Castlehaven is raising a regiment of 4,000 men which he is to command there; and several young gentlemen are going over in commands with him: and they say the Duke of Monmouth is going over only as a traveller, not to engage on either side, but only to see the campagne, which will be becoming him much more than to live wenching and roguing, as he now do. After dinner to the office, where I fell to business and did very much with infinite joy to myself as it always is to me when I have dispatched much business, and therefore it troubles me to see how hard it is for me to settle to it sometimes when my mind is upon pleasure.

2nd. (Lord's day.) To my chamber, and fell roundly to business, and did to my satisfaction by dinner go far in the drawing up a state of my accounts of Tangier for the new Lords Commissioners. To my business again all the afternoon close, and wrote it fair with a letter to the Lords to accompany my accounts, which I think will be so much satisfaction and so soon done (their order for my doing it being dated but May 30) as they will not find from any hand else. Being weary and almost blind with writing and reading so much to-day, I took boat, and up the river all alone as high as Putney almost, and then back again, all the way reading, and finishing Mr. Boyle's book of Colours,¹

¹ "Experiments on Colours," published in 1663.

which is so chymical, that I can understand but little of it, but enough to see that he is a most excellent man.

3rd. With Sir W. Coventry a great while talking about several businesses, but it is strange to see that being conscious of our doing little at this day, nor for some time past in our office for want of money, I do hang my head to him, and cannot be so free with him as I used to be, though of all men, I think, I have the least cause to be so, having taken so much more pains, while I could do anything, than the rest of my fellows. Met Mr. Mills, our parson, whom I went back with to bring him to Sir W. Coventry, to give him the form of a qualification for the Duke of York to sign to, to enable him to have two livings : which was a service I did, but much against my will, for a lazy, fat priest. Sir William Doyly did lay a wager with me, the Treasurership would be in one hand, notwithstanding this present Commission, before Christmas : on which we did lay a poll of ling, a brace of carps, and a pottle of wine ; and Sir W. Pen and Mr. Scowen to be at the eating of them. Thence down by water to Deptford, it being Trinity Monday, when the Master is chosen, and there, finding them all at church, and thinking they dined, as usual, at Stepny, I turned back, having a good book in my hand, the *Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, wrote by his own servant,¹ and to Ratcliffe ; and so walked to Stepny, and spent my time in the churchyard, looking over the grave-stones, expecting when the company would come by. Finding no company stirring, I sent to the house to see ; and, it seems, they dine not there, but at Deptford : so I back again

¹ George Cavendish, gentleman-usher to the Cardinal. It was first published in 1641, and then with a view to do harm to Archbishop Laud. The best edition is that published in 1852, with notes by John Holmes, Esquire, of the British Museum.

to Deptford, and there find them just sat down. And so I down with them; and we had a good dinner of plain meat, and good company at our table: among others, my good Mr. Evelyn, with whom, after dinner, I stepped aside, and talked upon the present posture of our affairs; which is, that the Dutch are known to be abroad with eighty sail of ships of war, and twenty fire-ships; and the French come into the Channell with twenty sail of men-of-war, and five fire-ships, while we have not a ship at sea to do them any hurt with; but are calling in all we can, while our Embassadors are treating at Bredah; and the Dutch look upon them as come to beg peace, and use them accordingly; and all this through the negligence of our Prince, who hath power, if he would, to master all these with the money and men that he hath had the command of, and may now have, if he would mind his business. But, for aught we see, the Kingdom is likely to be lost, as well as the reputation of it is, for ever; notwithstanding so much reputation got and preserved by a rebell that went before him. In the Treasury-chamber an hour or two, where we saw the Country Receivers and Accountants come to attend; and one of them, a brisk young fellow, with his hat cocked like a fool behind, as the present fashion among the blades is,¹ committed to the Serjeant. By and by, I, upon desire, was called in, and delivered in my Report of my Accounts. Present, Lord Ashly, Clifford, and Duncomb, who, being busy, did not read it; but committed it to Sir George Downing, and so I was dis-

¹ It was called the Monmouth cock, which, according to "The Spectator," No. 129, was still worn in the west of England by country squires in 1711:—"During our progress through the most western parts of the kingdom, we fancied ourselves in King Charles the Second's reign, the people having made little variations in their dress since that time. The smartest of the country squires appear still in the *Monmouth cock*."

missed ; but, Lord ! to see how Duncomb do take upon him is an eyesore, though I think he deserves great honour, but only the suddenness of his rise, and his pride. But I do like the way of these lords, that they admit nobody to use many words, nor do they spend many words themselves ; but in great state do hear what they see necessary, and say little themselves, but bid withdraw. Thence Creed and I by water up to Fox Hall, and over against it stopped, thinking to see some Cock-fighting ; but it was just being done, and, therefore, back again to Spring Garden, and then to walk up and down the garden, reflecting upon the bad management of things now, compared with what it was in the late rebellious times, when men, some for fear, and some for religion, minded their business, which none now do, by being void of both.

4th. Mr. Commander tells me, after all, that I cannot have a lease of the ground for my coach-house and stable, till a suit in law be ended. I am a little sorry that I cannot presently have it, because I am pretty full in my mind of keeping a coach ; but yet, when I think of it again, the Dutch and French both at sea, and we poor, and still out of order, I know not yet what turns there may be, and besides, I am in danger of parting with one of my places, which relates to the Victualling, that brings me by accident in 800*l.* a year, that is, 300*l.* from the King and 500*l.* from D. Gauden. Home in the evening, and there to sing and pipe with my wife, and that being done, she fell all of a sudden to discourse about her clothes and my humours in not suffering her to wear them as she pleases, and grew to high words between us, but I fell to read a book (Boyle's *Hydrostatics*) aloud in my chamber and let her talk, till she was tired and vexed that I would not hear her, and so became friends.

5th. To the Commissioners of the Treasury, and, after long waiting, I find them all sat ; and, among the rest, Duncomb lolling, with his heels upon another chair, by that, that he sat upon, and had an answer good enough, and then to St. James's, where we all met at Sir W. Coventry's chamber, and dined and talked of our business, he being a most excellent man, and indeed, with all his business, has more of his employed upon the good of the service of the Navy, than all of us, that makes me ashamed of it. Here a very good and neat dinner, after the French manner. Captain Perriman brings us word how the Happy Return's crew below in the Hope, ordered to carry the Portugal Ambassador to Holland, and the Ambassador, I think, on board, refuse to go till paid ; and by their example two or three more ships are in a mutiny : which is a sad consideration, while so many of the enemy's ships are at this day triumphing in the sea. Sir G. Carteret showed me a gentleman coming by in his coach, who hath been sent for up out of Lincolneshire, I think he says he is a justice of peace there, that the Council have laid by the heels here, and here lies in a messenger's hands, for saying that a man and his wife are but one person, and so ought to pay but 12*d.* for both to the Poll Bill ; by which others were led to do the like : and so here he lies prisoner.

6th. To the office where (which he hath not done a great while) Sir G. Carteret came to advise with us for the disposing of 10,000*l.*, which is the first sum the new Lords Treasurers have provided ; but, unless we have more, this will not enable us to cut off any of the growing charge which they seem to give it us for, and expected we should discharge several ships quite off with it. So home and with my father and wife to Sir W. Pen's to dinner, which they invited us to out of their respect to my father, as a

stranger ; though I know them as false as the devil himself, and that it is only that they think it fit to oblige me ; wherein I am a happy man, that all my fellow-officers are desirous of my friendship. Here as merry as in so false a place, and where I must dissemble my hatred, I could be, and after dinner my father and wife to a play, and I to my office, and there busy till late at night. In the afternoon comes Mr. Pierce, who tells me that the Duke of Cambridge is yet living, but every minute expected to die.

7th. With Mr. Townsend, whom I sent for to come to me to discourse about my Lord Sandwich's business ; for whom I am in some pain, lest the Accounts of the Wardrobe may not be in so good order as may please the new Lords Treasurers, who are quick-sighted, and under obligations of recommending themselves to the King and the world, by their finding and mending of faults, and are, most of them, not the best friends to my Lord. This day I read a discourse newly come forth of the King of France, his pretence to Flanders, which is a very fine discourse, and the truth is, has so much of the Civil Law in it, that I am not a fit judge of it, but, as it appears to me, he has a good pretence to it by right of his Queene.

8th. Up, and to the office, where all the news this morning is, that the Dutch are come with a fletee of eighty sail to Harwich, and that guns were heard plain by Sir W. Rider's people at Bednall-green, all yesterday even. Home, where our dinner a ham of French bacon, boiled with pigeons, an excellent dish. The news is confirmed that the Dutch are off Harwich, but had done nothing last night. The King hath sent down my Lord of Oxford to raise the countries there ; and all the Western barges are taken up to make a bridge over the River, about the

Hope, for horse to cross the River, if there be occasion.

9th. (Lord's day.) I hear that the Duke of Cambridge, who was given over long since by the Doctors, is now likely to recover; for which God be praised! To Sir W. Coventry, and there talked with him a great while; and mighty glad I was of my good fortune to visit him, for it keeps in my acquaintance with him, and the world sees it, and reckons my interest accordingly. In comes my Lord Barkeley, who is going down to Harwich also to look after the militia there: and there is also the Duke of Monmouth, and with him a great many young Hectors, the Lord Chesterfield, my Lord Mandeville, and others: but to little purpose, I fear, but to debauch the country women thereabouts. My Lord Barkeley wanting some maps, and Sir W. Coventry recommending the six maps of England that are bound up for the pocket, I did offer to present my Lord with them, which he accepted: and so I will send them him. Took boat, and up, all alone, as high as Barne Elmes, and there took a turn; and then to my boat again, and home, reading and making an end of the book I lately bought—a merry satyr, called “The Visions,” translated from the Spanish¹ by L'Estrange, wherein there are many very pretty things; but the translation is, as to the rendering it into English expression, the best that ever I saw, it being impossible almost to conceive that it should be a translation. I find an order come for the getting some fire-ships presently to annoy the Dutch, who are in the King's Channel, and expected up higher.

10th. Up; and news brought us that the Dutch are come up as high as the Nore; and more press-

¹ Of Francisco de Quevedo.

ing orders for fire-ships. W. Batten, W. Pen, and I to St. James's; where the Duke of York gone this morning betimes, to send away some men down to Chatham. So we three to White Hall, and met Sir W. Coventry, who presses all that is possible for fire-ships. So we three to the office presently; and thither comes Sir Fretcheville Hollis,¹ who is to command them all in some exploits he is to do with them on the enemy in the River. So we all down to Deptford, and pitched upon ships and set men at work: but, Lord! to see how backwardly things move at this pinch, notwithstanding that, by the enemy's being now come up as high as almost the Hope, Sir J. Minnes, who was gone down to pay some ships there, hath sent up the money; and so we are possessed of money to do what we will with. Yet partly ourselves, being used to be idle and in despair, and partly people that have been used to be deceived by us as to money, won't believe us; and we know not, though we have it, how almost to promise it; and our wants such, and men out of the way, that it is an admirable thing to consider how much the King suffers, and how necessary it is in a State to keep the King's service always in a good posture and credit. Down to Greenwich, where I find the

¹ Grandson of Fretcheville Hollis, of Grimsby. His father, Ger-vase Hollis, the antiquary, most of whose collections came into the British Museum, was an officer in the King's service. Sir Fretcheville Hollis, embracing the naval profession, lost an arm in the sea-fight of 1665, and afterwards served as Rear-Admiral under Sir Robert Holmes, when they attacked the Smyrna fleet. He fell in the battle of Southwold Bay, 1672, on board the "Cambridge." Although Pepys speaks slightly of him, he was a man of high spirit and enterprise, and is thus eulogized by Dryden in his "Annus Mirabilis":—

"Young Hollis on a Muse by Mars begot,
Born, Cæsar-like, to write and act great deeds,
Impatient to revenge his fatal shot,
His right hand doubly to his left succeeds."

stairs full of people, there being a great riding¹ there to-day for a man, the constable of the town, whose wife beat him. Here I was with much ado fain to press two watermen to make me a galley, and so to Woolwich to give order for the dispatch of a ship I have taken under my care to see dispatched, and down to Gravesend, where I find the Duke of Albemarle just come, with a great many idle lords and gentlemen, with their pistols and fooleries; and the bulwark² not able to have stood half an hour had they come up; but the Dutch are fallen down from the Hope and Shell-haven as low as Sheerness, and we do plainly at this time hear the guns play. Yet I do not find the Duke of Albemarle intends to go thither, but stays here to-night, and hath, though the Dutch are gone, ordered our frigates to be brought

¹ It was an ancient custom in Berkshire, when a man had beaten his wife, for the neighbours to parade in front of his house, for the purpose of serenading him with kettles, and horns and hand-bells, and every species of "rough music," by which name the ceremony was designated. Perhaps the *riding* mentioned by Pepys was a punishment somewhat similar. Malcolm ("Manners of London") quotes from the "Protestant Mercury," that a porter's lady, who resided near Strand Lane, beat her husband with so much violence and perseverance, that the poor man was compelled to leap out of the window to escape her fury. Exasperated at this virago, the neighbours made a "riding," *i.e.*, a pedestrian procession, headed by a drum, and accompanied by a chemise, displayed for a banner. The manual musician sounded the tune of "You round-headed cuckolds, come dig, come dig!" and nearly seventy coalheavers, carmen, and porters, adorned with large horns fastened to their heads, followed. The public seemed highly pleased with the nature of the punishment, and gave liberally to the vindicators of injured manhood.—Page 211, 4to. ed. 1811.

² That is, the block-house. There were formerly considerable fortifications at Gravesend: and about the year 1778 they were greatly extended, under the superintendence of Sir Thomas Hyde Page; a few years since, however, a great portion was dismantled, the ground was sold, and the "Terrace Pier," and other works *ejusdem generis* erected.

to a line between the two blockhouses; which I took then to be a ridiculous thing. I find the townsmen had removed most of their goods out of the town, for fear of the Dutch coming up to them; and from Sir John Griffen,¹ that last night there was not twelve men to be got in the town to defend it: which the master of the house tells me is not true, but that the men of the town did intend to stay, though they did indeed, and so had he, at the Ship, removed their goods. Thence went off to an Ostend man-of-war, just now come up, who met the Dutch fleete, who took three ships that he came convoying hither from him: says they are as low as the Nore, or thereabouts.

11th. Up and more letters still from Sir W. Coventry about more fire-ships and so Sir W. Batten and I to the office where Brouncker came to us, who is just now going to Chatham upon a desire of Commissioner Pett's, who is very fearful of the Dutch, and desires help for God and the King and kingdom's sake. So Brouncker goes down, and Sir J. Minnes also, from Gravesend. This morning Pett writes us word that Sheerness is lost last night, after two or three hours' dispute. The enemy hath possessed himself of that place; which is very sad, and puts us into great fears of Chatham. After dinner, by W. Hewer's lucky advice, went to Mr. Fenn, and did get him to pay me above 400*l.* of my wages, and W. Hewer received it for me, and brought it home this night. Home, and there to our business, hiring some fire-ships, and receiving every hour almost letters from Sir W. Coventry, calling for more fire-ships; and an order from Council to enable us to take any man's ships; and Sir W. Coventry, in his letter to us, says he do not doubt

¹ An error for Sir John Griffith, captain of the fort at Gravesend, who was knighted at Whitehall, 2nd January, 1665.

but at this time, under an invasion, as he owns it to be, the King may, by law, take any man's goods. At this business late, and then home ; where a great deal of serious talk with my wife about the sad state we are in, and especially from the beating up of drums this night for the trainbands upon pain of death to appear in arms to-morrow morning with bullet and powder, and money to supply themselves with victuals for a fortnight : which, considering the soldiers drawn out to Chatham and elsewhere, looks as if they had a design to ruin the City and give it up to be undone ; which, I hear, makes the sober citizens to think very sadly of things.

12th. Up very betimes to our business at the office, there hiring of more fire-ships ; and at it close all the morning. At noon home, and Sir W. Pen dined with us. By and by, after dinner, my wife out by coach to see her mother ; and I in another, being afraid, at this busy time, to be seen with a woman in a coach, as if I were idle, towards The. Turner's ; but met Sir W. Coventry's boy ; and there in his letter find that the Dutch had made no motion since their taking Sheerness ; and the Duke of Albe-marle writes that all is safe as to the great ships against any assault, the boom and chaine being so fortified ; which put my heart into great joy. When I come to Sir W. Coventry's chamber, I find him abroad ; but his clerk, Powell, do tell me that ill newes is come to Court of the Dutch breaking the Chaine at Chatham ;¹ which struck me to the heart.

¹ The account of this national disgrace is very characteristic, in "Poems on State Affairs," vol. i. p. 48, in the "Advice to a Painter," ascribed to Sir John Denham :—

“ ——— Painter ! let thine art describe a story,
Shaming our warlike island's ancient glory:
A scene which never on our seas appeared
Since our first ships were on the ocean steered ;

And to White Hall to hear the truth of it ; and there, going up the Park-stairs, I did hear some lacquies speaking of sad newes come to Court, saying, there

Make the Dutch fleet, while we supinely sleep,
 Without opposers, masters of the deep :
 Make them securely the Thames-mouth invade,
 At once depriving us of that and trade ;
 Draw thunder from their floating castles, sent
 Against our forts, weak as our government :
 Draw Woolwich, Deptford, London, and the Tower,
 Meanly abandoned to a foreign power.
 Yet turn their first attempt another way,
 And let their cannons upon Sheerness play ;
 Which soon destroyed, their lofty vessells ride,
 Big with the hope of the approaching tide :
 Make them more help from our remissness find,
 Than from the tide, or from the eastern wind,
 Their canvass swelling with a prosperous gale,
 Swift as our fears make them to Chatham sail :
Through our weak chain their fireships break their way,
 And our great ships (unmanned) become their prey.
 Then draw the fruit of our ill-managed coast,
 At once our honour and our safety lost :
 Bury those bulwarks of our isle in smoke,
 While their thick flames the neighbouring country choak ;
 The Charles escapes the raging element,
 To be with triumph into Holland sent ;
 Where the glad people to the shore resort,
 They see their terror now become their sport.
 But, Painter ! fill not up thy piece before
 Thou paint'st confusion on our troubled shore :
 Instruct then thy bold pencil to relate
 The saddest marks of an ill-governed state.
 Draw th' injured seamen deaf to all command,
 While some with horror and amazement stand :
 Others will know no enemy but they
 Who have unjustly robbed them of their pay ;
 Boldly refusing to oppose a fire,
 To kindle which our errors did conspire :
 Some (though but few) persuaded to obey,
 Useless, for want of ammunition, stay :
 The forts designed to guard our ships of war,
 Void both of powder and of bullets are :
 And what past reigns in peace did ne'er omit
 The present (whilst invaded) doth forget."

is hardly anybody in the Court but do look as if he cried. I would not go into the house for fear of being seen, but slunk out and got into a coach. I met Roger Pepys, newly come out of the country. He and I talked aside a little, he offering a match for Pall, one Barnes, of whom we shall talk more the next time. His father married a Pepys; in discourse, he told me that his grandfather, my great grandfather, had 800*l.* per annum, in Queen Elizabeth's time, in the very town of Cottenham; and that we did certainly come out of Scotland with the Abbot of Crowland.¹ Home, where all our hearts do now ake; for the newes is true, that the Dutch have broke the chaine and burned our ships, and particularly "The Royal Charles:"² other particulars I know not, but most sad to be sure. And, the truth is, I do fear so much that the whole kingdom is undone, that I do this night resolve to study with my father and wife what to do with the little that I have in money by me, for I give up all the rest that I have in the King's hands, for Tangier, for lost. So God help us! and God knows what disorders we may fall into, and whether any violence on this office, or perhaps some severity on our persons, as being reckoned by the silly people, or perhaps may, by policy of State, be thought fit to be condemned by the King and Duke of York, and so put to trouble; though, God knows! I have, in my own person, done my full duty, I am sure. Home, and to bed with a heavy heart. The manner of my advising this night

¹ The reading in the MS. is Crowland, and not Croyland. William Pepys was born at Dunbar, in Scotland, brought up by the Abbot of Crowland, in Huntingdonshire, placed by him at Cottenham, and made "bayliffe of all his lands in Cambridgeshire." He died in 1519, leaving issue three sons and three daughters. (M. B.)

² Vandervelde's drawings of the conflagration of the English fleet, made by him on the spot, are in the British Museum.

with my father was, I took him and my wife up to her chamber, and shut the door; and there told them the sad state of the times how we are like to be all undone; that I do fear some violence will be offered to this office, where all I have in the world is; and resolved upon sending it away—sometimes into the country—sometimes my father to lie in town, and have the gold with him at Sarah Giles's.

13th. No sooner up but hear the sad newes confirmed of the Royall Charles being taken by them, and now in fitting by them—which Pett should have carried up higher by our several orders, and deserves, therefore, to be hanged for not doing it—and burning several others; and that another fleete is come up into the Hope. Upon which newes the King and Duke of York have been below¹ since four o'clock in the morning, to command the sinking of ships at Barking-Creeke, and other places, to stop their coming up higher: which put me into such a fear, that I presently resolved of my father's and wife's going into the country; and, at two hours' warning, they did go by the coach this day, with about 1,300*l.* in gold in their night-bag. Pray God give them good passage, and good care to hide it when they come home! but my heart is full of fear. They gone, I continued in fright and fear what to do with the rest. W. Hewer hath been at the banker's, and hath got 500*l.* out of Backewell's hands of his own money; but they are so called upon that they will be all broke, hundreds coming to them for money: and their answer is, "It is payable at twenty days—when the days are out, we will pay you;" and those that are not so, they make tell over their money, and make their bags false, on purpose to give cause to retell it, and so spend time. I cannot have my 200 pieces of gold again for silver, all being bought up

¹ Below London Bridge.

last night that were to be had, and sold for 24 and 25s. a-piece.¹ So I must keep the silver by me, which sometimes I think to fling into the house of office, and then again know not how I shall come by it, if we be made to leave the office. Every minute some one or other calls for this or that order ; and so I forced to be at the office, most of the day, about the fire-ships which are to be suddenly fitted out : and it's a most strange thing that we hear nothing from any of my brethren at Chatham : so that we are wholly in the dark, various being the reports of what is done there ; insomuch that I sent Mr. Clapham express thither to see how matters go. I did, about noon, resolve to send Mr. Gibson away after my wife with another 1,000 pieces, under colour of an express to Sir Jeremy Smith ; who is, as I hear, with some ships at Newcastle ; which I did really send to him, and may, possibly, prove of good use to the King ; for it is possible, in the hurry of business, they may not think of it at Court, and the charge of an express is not considerable to the King. The King and Duke of York up and down all the day here and there : some time on Tower Hill, where the City militia was ; where the King did make a speech to them, that they should venture themselves no further than he would himself. I also sent, my mind being in pain, Saunders after my wife and father, to overtake them at their night's lodgings, to see how matters go with them. In the evening, I sent for my cousin Sarah [Gyles] and her husband, who come ; and I did deliver them my chest of writings about Brampton, and my brother Tom's papers, and my journalls, which I value much ; and did send my two silver flaggons² to Kate Joyce's :

¹ After the Bank Restriction Act, in 1797, guineas were sold for 27s.

² See 28th July, 1664, and 11th January, 1667.

that so, being scattered what I have, something might be saved. I have also made a girdle, by which, with some trouble, I do carry about me 300*l.* in gold about my body, that I may not be without something in case I should be surprised: for I think, in any nation but our's, people that appear, for we are not indeed so, so faulty as we, would have their throats cut. In the evening comes Mr. Pelling, and several others, to the office, and tell me that never were people so dejected as they are in the City all over at this day; and do talk most loudly, even treason; as, that we are bought and sold—that we are betrayed by the Papists; and others, about the King, cry out that the office of the Ordnance hath been so backward as no powder to have been at Chatham nor Upnor Castle till such a time, and the carriages all broken; that Legg is a Papist; that Upnor, the old good castle built by Queen Elizabeth, should be lately slighted; that the ships at Chatham should not be carried up higher. They look upon us as lost, and remove their families and rich goods in the City; and do think verily that the French, being come down with his army to Dunkirke, it is to invade us, and that we shall be invaded. Mr. Clerke, the solicitor, comes to me about business, and tells me that he hears that the King hath chosen Mr. Pierpont¹ and Vaughan² of the West, Privy-councillors; that my Lord Chancellor was affronted in the Hall this day, by people telling him of his Dunkirke House;³ and that there are regiments ordered to be got together, whereof to be commanders my Lord Fairfax, Ingoldsby, Bethell, Norton, and Birch, and other

¹ William Pierrepont, called “wise Pierrepont,” younger son of the first Earl of Kingston, and brother to the Marquis of Dorchester. His grandson, Robert, succeeded as third Earl of Kingston.

² See 28th March, 1664, *ante*.

³ See 20th February, 1664-5, *ante*.

Presbyterians ; and that Dr. Bates will have liberty to preach. Now, whether this be true or not, I know not ; but do think that nothing but this will unite us together. Late at night comes Mr. Hudson, the cooper, my neighbour, and tells me that he came from Chatham this evening at five o'clock, and saw this afternoon "The Royal James," "Oake," and "London," burnt by the enemy with their fire-ships : that two or three men-of-war came up with them, and made no more of Upnor Castle's shooting, than of a fly ; that those ships lay below Upnor Castle, but therein, I conceive, he is in an error ; that the Dutch are fitting out "The Royall Charles ;" that we shot so far as from the Yard thither, so that the shot did no good, for the bullets grazed on the water ; that Upnor played hard with their guns at first, but slowly afterwards, either from the men being beat off, or their powder spent.¹ But we hear that the fleet in the Hope is not come up any higher the last flood ; and Sir W. Batten tells me that ships are provided to sink in the River, about Woolwich, that will prevent their coming up higher if they should attempt it. I made my will also this day, and did give all I had equally between my father and wife.

14th. Up, and to the office ; where Mr. Fryer

¹ The want of ammunition when the Dutch burnt the fleet, and the revenge of the deserter sailors, are well described by Marvel, "Works," iii. p. 386 :—

"Our Seamen, whom no danger's shape could fright,
Unpaid, refuse to mount their ships, for spite :
Or to their fellows swim, on board the Dutch,
Who show the tempting metal in their clutch.
Oft had (Monk) sent, of *Duncomb* and of *Legge*,
Cannon and powder, but in vain, to beg ;
And *Upnor's Castle's ill-deserted wall*,
Now needful does for ammunition call,
He finds, where e'er he succour might expect,
Confusion, folly, treachery, fear, neglect."

comes and tells me that there are several Frenchmen and Flemish ships in the River, with passes from the Duke of York for carrying of prisoners, that ought to be parted from the rest of the ships, and their powder taken, lest they do fire themselves when the enemy comes, and so spoil us; which is good advice, and I think I will give notice of it; and did so. But it is pretty odd to see how every body, even at this high time of danger, puts business off of their own hands! He says that he told this to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to whom I, for the same reason, was directing him to go; and the Lieutenant of the Tower bade him come to us, for he had nothing to do with it; and yesterday comes Captain Crew, of one of the fire-ships, and told me that the officers of the Ordnance would deliver his gunner's materials, but not compound them,¹ but that we must do it; whereupon I was forced to write to them about it; and one that like a great many come to me this morning by and by comes—Mr. Wilson, and, by direction of his, a man of Mr. Gauden's; who are come from Chatham last night, and saw the three ships burnt, they lying all dry, and boats going from the men-of-war and fire them. But that, that he tells me of worst consequence is, that he himself, I think he said, did hear many Englishmen on board the Dutch ships speaking to one another in English; and that they did cry and say, "We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for dollars!" and did ask how such and such a one did, and would commend themselves to them: which is a sad consideration. And Mr. Lewes, who was present at this fellow's discourse to me, did tell me, that he is told that when

¹ Meaning, apparently, that the Ordnance would deliver the charcoal, sulphur, and saltpetre separately, but not mix them as gunpowder—a distinction which has been brought prominently forward lately in the war-rocket case.

they took "The Royall Charles," they said that they had their tickets signed, and showed some, and that now they come to have them paid, and would have them paid before they parted. And several seamen came this morning to me, to tell me that, if I would get their tickets paid, they would go and do all they could against the Dutch; but otherwise they would not venture being killed, and lose all they have already fought for: so that I was forced to try what I could do to get them paid. This man tells me that the ships burnt last night did lie above Upnor Castle, over against the Docke; and the boats came from the ships of war and burnt them: all which is very sad. And masters of ships, that we are now taking up, do keep from their ships all their stores, or as much as they can, so that we can despatch them, having not time to appraise them nor secure their payment; only some little money we have, which we are fain to pay the men we have with, every night, or they will not work. And indeed the hearts as well as affections of the seamen are turned away; and in the open streets in Wapping, and up and down, the wives have cried publicly, "This comes of your not paying our husbands; and now your work is undone, or done by hands that understand it not." And Sir W. Batten told me that he was himself affronted with a woman, in language of this kind, on Tower Hill publicly yesterday; and we are fain to bear it, and to keep one at the office door to let no idle people in, for fear of firing of the office and doing us mischief. The City is troubled at their being put upon duty: summoned one hour, and discharged two hours after; and then again summoned two hours after that; to their great charge as well as trouble. And Pelling, the Potticary, tells me the world says all over, that less charge than what the kingdom is

put to, of one kind or other, by this business, would have set out all our great ships. It is said they did in open streets yesterday, at Westminster, cry, "A Parliament! a Parliament!" and I do believe it will cost blood to answer for these miscarriages. We do not hear that the Dutch are come to Gravesend; which is a wonder. But a wonderful thing it is that to this day we have not one word yet from Brouncker, or Peter Pett, or J. Minnes, of any thing at Chatham. The people that come hither to hear how things go, make me ashamed to be found unable to answer them: for I am left alone here at the office; and the truth is, I am glad my station is to be here, near my own home and out of danger, yet in a place of doing the King good service. I have this morning good news from Gibson; three letters from three several stages, that he was safe last night as far as Royston, at between nine and ten at night. The dismay that is upon us all, in the business of the kingdom and Navy at this day, is not to be expressed otherwise than by the condition the citizens were in when the City was on fire, nobody knowing which way to turn themselves, while every thing concurred to greaten the fire; as here the easterly gale and spring-tides for coming up both rivers, and enabling them to break the chaine. D. Gauden did tell me yesterday, that the day before at the Council they were ready to fall together by the ears at the Council-table, arraigning one another of being guilty of the counsel that brought us into this misery, by laying up all the great ships. Mr. Hater tells me at noon that some rude people have been, as he hears, at my Lord Chancellor's, where they have cut down the trees before his house and broke his windows; and a gibbet either set up before or painted upon his gate, and these three words writ: "Three sights to be seen; Dun-

kirke, Tangier, and a barren Queene.”¹ It gives great matter of talk that it is said there is at this hour, in the Exchequer, as much money as is ready to break down the floor. This arises, I believe, from Sir G. Downing’s late talk of the greatness of the sum lying there of people’s money, that they would not fetch away, which he showed me and a great many others. Most people that I speak with are in doubt how we shall do to secure our seamen from running over to the Dutch; which is a sad but very true consideration at this day. At noon I am told that my Lord Duke of Albemarle is made Lord High Constable; the meaning whereof at this time I know not, nor whether it be true or no.² Dined, and Mr. Hater and W. Hewer with me; where they do speak so sorrowfully of the posture of the times, and how people do cry out in the streets of their being bought and sold; and both they, and every body that come to me, do tell me that people make nothing of talking treason in the streets openly: as, that we are bought and sold, and governed by Papists, and that we are betrayed by people about

¹ See 19th February, 1665-6, *ante*, and “Poems on State Affairs,” vol. i. p. 253:—

“Pride, Lust, Ambition, and the People’s Hate,
The kingdom’s broker, ruin of the State,
Dunkirk’s sad loss, divider of the fleet,
Tangier’s compounder for a barren sheet:
This shrub of gentry, married to the crown,
His daughter to the heir, is tumbled down:
The grand imposter of the nobles lies
Gro’ling in dust, as a just sacrifice,
To appease the injured King and abased nation:
Who would believe the sudden alteration?
God will revenge, too, for the stones he took
From aged Paul’s to make a nest for rooks;
All cormorants of State, as well as he,
We now may hope in the same plight to see.”

² The report was not true.

the King, and shall be delivered up to the French, and I know not what. At dinner we discoursed of Tom of the Wood, a fellow that lives like a hermit near Woolwich, who, as they say, and Mr. Bodham, they tell me, affirms that he was by at the Justice's when some did accuse him there for it, did fortell the burning of the City, and now says that a greater desolation is at hand. Thence we read and laughed at Lilly's prophecies this month, in his Almanack this year.¹ So to the office after dinner; and thither comes Mr. Pierce, who tells me his condition, how he cannot get his money, about 500*l.*, which, he says, is a very great part of what he hath for his family and children, out of Viner's hand: and indeed it is to be feared that this will wholly undo the bankers. He says he knows nothing of the late affronts to my Lord Chancellor's house, as is said, nor hears of the Duke of Albemarle's being made High Constable; but says that they are in great distraction at White Hall, and that every where people do speak high against Sir W. Coventry:² but he agrees with me, that he is the best Minister of State the King hath, and so from my heart I believe. At night come home Sir W. Batten and W. Pen, who only can tell me that they have placed guns at Woolwich and

¹ Probably the following prognostications amused Pepys and his friends:—"The several lunations of this month do rather portend sea-fights, wars, &c., than give hopes of peace, particularly the several configurations do very much threaten Holland with a most strange and unusual loss at sea, if they shall dare to fight His Majesty's forces. Still poor Poland is threatened either by the Muscovites or wandering Cossacks. Strange rumours dispersed in London, some vain people abuse His Majesty's subjects with untruths and ill-grounded suggestions. Much division in London about building; perhaps that may occasion those vain and idle reports. Strange news out of Holland, as if all were in an uproar; we believe they are now in a sad and fearful condition."

² Evelyn ("Diary," July 29, 1667) says it was owing to Sir W. Coventry that no fleet was sent out in 1667.

Deptford, and sunk some ships below Woolwich and Blackewall, and are in hopes that they will stop the enemy's coming up. But strange our confusion ! that among them that are sunk they have gone and sunk without consideration "The Francklin," one of the King's ships, with stores to a very considerable value, that hath been long loaden for supply of the ships ; and the new ship at Bristoll, and much wanted there ; and nobody will own that they directed it, but do lay it on Sir W. Rider. They speak also of another ship, loaden to the value of 80,000*l.*, sunk with the goods in her, or at least was mightily contended for by him, and a foreign ship, that had the faith of the nation for her security : this Sir R. Ford tells us. And it is too plain a truth, that both here and at Chatham the ships that we have sunk have many, and the first of them, been ships completely fitted for fire-ships at great charge. But most strange the backwardness and disorder of all people, especially the King's people in pay, to do any work, Sir W. Pen tells me, all crying out for money ; and it was so at Chatham, that this night comes an order from Sir W. Coventry to stop the pay of the wages of that Yard ; the Duke of Albemarle having related, that not above three of 1,100 in pay there did attend to do any work there. This evening having sent a messenger to Chatham on purpose, we have received a dull letter from my Lord Brouncker and Peter Pett, how matters have gone there this week ; but not so much, or so particularly, as we knew it by common talk before, and as true. I doubt they will be found to have been but slow men in this business ; and they say the Duke of Albemarle did tell my Lord Brouncker to his face that his discharging of the great ships there was the cause of all this ; and I am told that it is become common talk against my Lord Brouncker. But in that he is to be

justified, for he did it by verbal order from Sir W. Coventry, and with good intent; and it was to good purpose, whatever the success be, for the men would have but spent the King so much the more in wages, and yet not attended on board to have done the King any service; and as an evidence of that, just now, being the 15th day in the morning that I am writing yesterday's passages, one is with me, Jacob Bryan, Purser of "The Princesse," who confesses to me that he hath but 180 men borne at this day in victuals and wages on that ship lying at Chatham, being lately brought in thither; of which 180 there was not above five appeared to do the King any service at this late business. And this morning also, some of the Cambridge's men come up from Portsmouth, by order from Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who boasted to us the other day that he had sent for 50, and would be hanged if 100 did not come up that would do as much as twice the number of other men: I say some of them, instead of being at work at Deptford, where they were intended, do come to the office this morning to demand the payment of their tickets; for otherwise they would, they said, do no more work; and are, as I understand from everybody that has to do with them, the most debauched, damning, swearing rogues that ever were in the Navy, just like their prophane commander. Home, being at pretty good ease by a letter from my wife, brought by Saunders, that my father and wife got well last night to their Inn and out again this morning, and Gibson's being got safe to Caxton at twelve last night.

15th. All the morning at the office. No newes more than last night; only Purser Tyler comes and tells me that he being at all the passages in this business at Chatham, he says there have been horrible miscarriages, such as we shall shortly hear of:

that the want of boats hath undone us; and it is commonly said, and Sir J. Minnes under his hand tells us, that they were employed by the men of the Yard to carry away their goods; and I hear that Commissioner Pett will be found the first man that began to remove; he is much spoken against, and Brouncker is complained of and reproached for discharging the men of the great ships heretofore. At noon Mr. Hater dined with me; and tells me he believes that it will hardly be the want of money alone that will excuse to the Parliament the neglect of not setting out a fleete, it having never been done in our greatest straits, but however unlikely it appeared, yet when it was gone about, the State or King did compass it; and there is something in it. At night comes, unexpectedly so soon, Mr. Gibson, who left my wife well, and all got down well with them, but not with himself, which I was afeard of, and cannot blame him, but must myself be wiser against another time. He had one of his bags broke, through his breeches, and some pieces dropped out, not many, he thinks, but two, for he light, and took them up, and went back and could find no more. But I am not able to tell how many, which troubles me, but the joy of having the greatest part safe there makes me bear with it, so as not to afflict myself for it. Home and to my flageolet. Played with pleasure, but with a heavy heart, only it pleased me to think how it may please God I may live to spend my time in the country with plainness and pleasure, though but with little glory.

16th. (Lord's day.) Comes Roger Pepys and his son Talbot, whom he had brought to town to settle at the Temple, but, by reason of our present stirs, will carry him back again with him this week. He seems to be but a silly lad. I sent them to church this morning. Roger Pepys told me, that when I

come to his house he will show me a decree in Chancery, wherein there was twenty-six men all house-keepers in the town of Cottenham, in Queene Elizabeth's time, of our name. By and by occasion offered for my writing to Sir W. Coventry a plain bold letter touching lack of money; which, when it was gone, I was afeard might give offence: but upon two or three readings over again the copy of it, I was satisfied it was a good letter; only Sir W. Batten signed it with me, which I could wish I had done alone.

17th. To my office, where busy all the morning, particularly setting my people to work in transcribing pieces of letters publique and private, which I do collect against a black day to defend the office with and myself. At noon dined at home, Mr. Hater with me alone, who do seem to be confident that this nation will be undone, and with good reason. Wishes himself at Hambrough, as a great many more, he says, he believes do, but nothing but the reconciling of the Presbyterians will save us, and I am of his mind. At the office all the afternoon, where every moment business of one kind or other about the fire-ships and other businesses, most of them vexatious for want of money, the commanders all complaining that, if they miss to pay their men a night, they run away; seamen demanding money of them by way of advance, and some of Sir Fretcheville Hollis's men, that he so bragged of, demanding their tickets to be paid, or they would not work: this Hollis, Sir W. Batten and W. Pen say, proves a conceited, idle, prating, lying fellow. But it was pleasant this morning to hear Hollis give me the account what, he says, he told the King in Commissioner Pett's presence, whence it was that his ship was fit sooner than others, telling the King how he dealt with the several Commissioners and agents of the Ports where he comes, offering Lanyon to carry him a Ton or two of

goods to the streights, giving Middleton an hour or two's hearing of his stories of Barbadoes, going to prayer with Taylor, and standing bare and calling, "If it please your Honour," to Pett, but Sir W. Pen says that he tells this story to everybody, and believes it to be a very lie. Captain Cocke tells me there have been great endeavours of bringing in the Presbyterian interest, but that it will not do. He named to me several of the insipid lords that are to command the armies that are to be raised. He says the King and Court are all troubled, and the gates of the Court were shut up upon the first coming of the Dutch to us, but they do mind the business no more than ever: that the bankers, he fears, are broke as to ready-money, though Viner had 100,000*l.* by him when our trouble begun: that he and the Duke of Albemarle have received into their own hands, of Viner, the former 10,000*l.*, and the latter 12,000*l.*, in tallies or assignments, to secure what was in his hands of their's; and many other great men of our masters have done the like; which is no good sign, when they begin to fear the main. He and every body cries out of the office of the Ordnance, for their neglects, both at Gravesend and Upnor, and everywhere else. This night, late, comes a porter with a letter from Monsieur Pratt, to borrow 100*l.* for my Lord Hinchinbroke, to enable him to go out with his troop in the country, as he is commanded; but I did find an excuse to decline it. Among other reasons to myself, this is one, to teach him the necessity of being a good husband, and keeping money or credit by him.

18th. To the office, and by and by word was brought me that Commissioner Pett is brought to the Tower,¹ and there laid up close prisoner; which

¹ "June 17th. This day, Commissioner Pett, to whom was committed the care of the Yard at Chatham, with the affairs of

puts me into a fright, lest they may do the same with us as they do with him. Great newes to-night of the blowing up of one of the Dutch greatest ships, while a Council of War was on board: the latter part, I doubt, is not so, it not being confirmed since; but the former, that they had a ship blown up, is said to be true. This evening comes Sir G. Carteret to the office, to talk of business at Sir W. Batten's; where all to be undone for want of money, there being none to pay the Chest at their public pay the 24th of this month, which will make us a scorn to the world. After he had done there, he and I into the garden, and walked; and the greatest of our discourse is, his sense of the requisiteness of his parting with his being Treasurer of the Navy, if he can, on any good terms. He do harp upon getting my Lord Brouncker to take it on half profit, but that he is not able to secure him in paying him so much. My Lady Jem goes down to Hinchingbroke to lie down, because of the troubles of the times here. He tells me now the great question is, whether a Parliament or no Parliament; and says the Parliament itself cannot be thought able at present to raise money, and therefore it will be to no purpose to call one.

19th. Comes an order from Sir R. Browne, commanding me this afternoon to attend the Council-board, with all my books and papers touching the Medway. I was ready to fear some mischief to myself, though it appears most reasonable that it is to inform them about Commissioner Pett; and so took coach and to the Council-chamber lobby, where I met Mr. Evelyn, who do miserably decry our follies that bring all this misery upon us. While we were discoursing over our public misfortunes, I am called in to a large Committee of the Council: present the the Navy there, was committed close prisoner to the Tower, in order to his farther examination."—*The London Gazette*, No. 166.

Duke of Albemarle, Anglesey, Arlington, Ashly, Carteret, Duncomb, Coventry, Ingram, Clifford, Lauderdale, Morrice, Manchester, Craven, Carlisle, Bridgewater. And after Sir W. Coventry's telling them what orders His Royal Highness had made for the safety of the Medway, I told them to their full content what we had done, and showed them our letters. Then was Peter Pett called in, with the Lieutenant of the Tower. He is in his old clothes, and looked most sillily. His charge was chiefly the not carrying up of the ships, and the using of the boats in carrying away his goods; to which he answered very sillily, though his faults to me seem only great omissions. Lord Arlington and Coventry very severe against him; the former saying that, if he was not guilty, the world would think them all guilty.¹ The latter urged, that there must be some faults, and that the Admiral

¹ Pett was made a scapegoat. This is confirmed in Marvel's Satire ("Works," vol. iii. p. 390):—

"After this loss, to relish discontent,
Some one must be accused by Parliament;
All our miscarriages on Pett must fall,
His name alone seems fit to answer all.
Whose counsel first did this mad war beget?
Who all commands sold through the Navy? *Pett*.
Who would not follow when the Dutch were beat?
Who treated out the time at Bergen? *Pett*.
Who the Dutch fleet with storms disabled met,
And, rifling prizes, them neglected? *Pett*.
Who with false news prevented the Gazette,
The fleet divided, writ for *Rupert*? *Pett*.
Who all our seamen cheated of their debt?
And all our prizes who did swallow? *Pett*.
Who did advise no navy out to set?
And who the fort left unprepared? *Pett*.
Who to supply with powder did forget
Languard, Sheerness, Gravesend, and Upnor? *Pett*.
Who all our ships exposed in Chatham net?
Who should it be but the fanatick *Pett*?
Pett, the sea-architect, in making ships,
Was the first cause of all these naval slips.

must be found to have done his part. I did say an unhappy word, which I was sorry for, when he complained of want of oars for the boats : and there was, it seems, enough, and good enough, to carry away all the boats with from the King's occasions. He said he used never a boat till they were all gone but one ; and that was to carry away things of great value, and these were his models of ships ; which, when the Council, some of them, had said they wished that the Dutch had had them instead of the King's ships, he answered, he did believe the Dutch would have made more advantage of the models than of the ships, and that the King had had greater loss thereby ; this they all laughed at. After having heard him for an hour or more, they bid him withdraw. I all this while showing him no respect, but rather against him, for which God forgive me ! for I mean no hurt to him, but only find that these Lords are upon their own purgation, and it is necessary I should be so in behalf of the office. He being gone, they caused Sir Richard Browne¹ to read over his minutes ; and then my Lord Arlington moved that they might be put into my hands to put into form, I being more acquainted with such business ; and they were so. So I away back with my books and papers ; and when I got out into the Court it was pretty to see how people gazed upon me, that I thought myself obliged to salute people and to smile, lest they should think I was a prisoner too ; but afterwards I found that most did take me to be there to bear evidence against P. Pett ; but my fear was such, at my going in, of the success of the

Had he not built, none of these faults had been ;
If no creation, there had been no sin :
But his great crime, one boat away he sent,
That lost our fleet, and did our flight prevent."

¹ Clerk of the Council.

day, that I did think fit to give T. Hater, whom I took with me, to wait the event, my closet-key and directions where to find 500*l.* and more in silver and gold, and my tallys, to remove, in case of any misfortune to me. Thence to Sir G. Carteret's to take my leave of my Lady Jem, who is going into the country to-morrow; but she being now at prayers with my Lady and family, and hearing by Yorke, the carrier, that my wife is coming to town, I did make haste home to see her, that she might not find me abroad, it being the first minute I have been abroad since yesterday was se'ennight. It is pretty to see how strange it is to be abroad to see people, as it used to be after a month or two's absence, and I have brought myself so to it, that I have no great mind to be abroad, which I could not have believed of myself. I got home, and after being there a little, my wife came, and two of her fellow-travellers with her, with whom we drunk: a couple of merchant-like men, I think, but have friends in our country. They being gone, my wife did give so bad an account of her and my father's method in burying of our gold, that made me mad: and she herself is not pleased with it, she believing that my sister knows of it. My father and she did it on Sunday, when they were gone to church, in open daylight, in the midst of the garden; where, for aught they knew, many eyes might see them: which put me into such trouble, that I was almost mad about it, and presently cast about, how to have it back again to secure it here, the times being a little better now. Such was my trouble at this, that I fell out with my wife, that though new come to town, I did not sup with her, nor speak to her to-night, but to bed and sleep.

20th. Up without any respect to my wife, only answering her a question or two, without any anger though, and so to the office, where Mr. Barber came to me (one of the clerks of the ticket office) to get me

to sign some tickets, and told me that all the discourse yesterday, about that part of the town where he was, was that Mr. Pett and I were in the Tower ; and I did hear the same before. At noon, home to dinner, and there my wife and I very good friends ; the care of my gold being somewhat over, considering it was in their hands that have as much cause to secure it as myself almost, and so if they will be mad, let them. But yet I do intend to send for it away. Busy all the afternoon ; in the evening did treat with, and in the end agree, but by some kind of compulsion, with the owners of six merchant ships, to serve the King as men-of-war. But, Lord ! to see how against the hair it is with these men and every body to trust us and the King ; and how unreasonable it is to expect they should be willing to lend their ships, and lay out 2 or 300*l.* a man to fit their ships for new voyages, when we have not paid them half of what we owe them for their old services ! I did write so to Sir W. Coventry this night.

21st. Up and by water to White Hall, there to discourse with Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Fen about office business. I found them all aground, and no money to do anything with. Thence homewards, calling at my Tailor's to bespeak some coloured clothes, and thence to Hercules Pillars, all alone, and there spent 6*d.* on myself, and so home and busy all the morning. At noon to dinner, where my wife shows me a letter from her father, who is going over sea, and this afternoon would take his leave of her. I sent him by her three Jacobuses in gold, having real pity for him and her. This day comes news from Harwich that the Dutch fleete are all in sight, near 100 sail great and small, they think, coming towards them ; where, they think, they shall be able to oppose them ; but do cry out of the falling back of the seamen, few standing by them, and those with

much faintness. The like they write from Portsmouth, and their letters this post are worth reading. Sir H. Cholmly came to me this day, and tells me the Court is as mad as ever ; and that the night the Dutch burned our ships the King did sup with my Lady Castlemaine, at the Duchess of Monmouth's, and there were all mad in hunting of a poor moth.¹ All the Court afraid of a Parliament ; but he thinks nothing can save us but the King's giving up all to a Parliament.

22nd. At the office all the morning busy. At noon to dinner, where Mr. Lewes Phillips, by invitation of my wife, comes, he coming up to town with her in the coach this week, and she expected another gentleman, a fellow traveller, and I perceive the feast was for him, though she did not say it, but by some mistake he came not, so there was a good dinner lost. Much talk with Mr. Phillips about country business, among others that there is no way for me to purchase any severall lands in Brampton, or making any severall that is not so, without much trouble and cost, and, it may be, not do it neither, so that there is no more ground to be laid to our Brampton house. In the evening came Captain Hart² and Haywood to me about the six merchant-ships now taken up for men-of-war ; and in talk they told me about the taking of "The Royal Charles ;" that nothing but carelessness lost the ship, for they might have saved her the very tide that the Dutch come up, if they would have but used means and had had but boats : and that the want of boats plainly lost all the other ships. That the Dutch did take her with a boat of nine men, who found not a man on board her, and her laying so near

¹ Nero fiddled while Rome was burning.

² The warrant of the Earl of Sandwich, appointing John Hart Captain of the "Revenge," 13th September, 1665, is among the loose papers in Rawlinson, A. 289.

them was a main temptation to them to come on ; and presently a man went up and struck her flag and jacke, and a trumpeter sounded upon her "Joan's placket is torn :"¹ that they did carry her down at a time, both for tides and wind, when the best pilot in Chatham would not have undertaken it, they heeling her on one side to make her draw little water : and so carried her away safe. They being gone, by and by comes Sir W. Pen, who hath been at Court ; and in the first place, I hear the Duke of Cambridge is dead ;² which is a great loss to the nation, having, I think, never an heyre male now of the King's or Duke's to succeed to the Crown. He tells me that they do begin already to damn the Dutch, and call them cowards at White Hall, and think of them and their business no better than they used to do ; which is very sad. The King did tell him himself, which is so, I was told, here in the City, that the City hath lent him 10,000*l.*, to be laid out towards securing of the River of Thames ; which, methinks, is a very poor thing, that we should be induced to borrow by such mean sums. He tells me that it is most manifest that one great thing making it impossible for us to have set out a fleete this year, if we could have done it for money or stores, was the liberty given the beginning of the year for the setting out of merchantmen, which did take up, as is said, above ten, if not fifteen thousand seamen : and this appears in the council-books.

23rd. (Lord's day.) To my chamber, and there all the morning reading in my Lord Coke's pleas of the Crowne, very fine and noble reading. To Woolwich, and there called on Mr. Bodham : and he and I to see the batterys newly raised ; which, indeed, are good works to command the River below the

¹ Placket : the open part of a woman's petticoat.

² He died on the 20th June, at Richmond.

ships that are sunk, but not above them. It is a sad sight to see so many good ships there sunk in the River, while we would be thought to be masters of the sea. Cocke says the bankers cannot, till peace returns, ever hope to have credit again; so that they can pay no more money, but people must be contented to take publick security such as they can give them; and if so, and they do live to receive the money thereupon, the bankers will be happy men. Fenn read me an order of council passed the 17th instant, directing all the Treasurers of any part of the King's revenue to make no payments but such as shall be approved by the present Lords Commissioners; which will, I think, spoil the credit of all his Majesty's service, when people cannot depend upon payment any where. But the King's declaration in behalf of the bankers, to make good their assignments for money, is very good, and will, I hope, secure me. Cocke says, that he hears it is come to it now, that the King will try what he can soon do for a peace; and if he cannot, that then he will cast all upon the Parliament to do as they see fit: and in doing so, perhaps, he may save us all. The King of France, it is believed, is engaged for this year;¹ so that we shall be safe as to him. The great misery the City and kingdom is like to suffer for want of coals² in a little time is very visible, and, it is feared, will breed a mutiny; for we are not in any prospect to command the

¹ Louis XIV. was at this time in Flanders, with his Queen, his mistresses, and all his Court. Turenne commanded under him. Whilst Charles was hunting moths at Lady Castlemaine's, and the English fleet was burning, Louis was carrying on the campaign with vigour. Armentières was taken on the 28th May; Charleroi on the 2nd June, St. Winoc on the 6th, Furnes on the 12th, Ath on the 16th, Tournay on the 24th; the Escarpe on the 6th July, Courtray on the 18th, Audenarde on the 31st; and Lisle on the 27th August.

² See 26th June, *post*.

sea for our colliers to come, but rather, it is feared, the Dutch may go and burn all our colliers at Newcastle; though others do say that they lie safe enough there. No news at all of late from Bredah¹ what our Treaters do.

24th. Troubled a little at a letter from my father, which tells me of an idle companion, one Coleman, who went down with him and my wife in the coach, and came up again with my wife, a pensioner of the King's Guard, and one that my wife, indeed, made the feast for on Saturday last, though he did not come; but if he knows nothing of our money I will prevent any other inconvenience. In the evening comes Mr. Povy about business; and he and I to walk in the garden an hour or two, and to talk of State matters. He tells me his opinion that it is out of possibility for us to escape being undone, there being nothing in our power to do that is necessary for the saving us: a lazy Prince, no Council, no money, no reputation at home or abroad. He says that to this day the King do follow the women as much as ever he did; that the Duke of York hath not got Mrs. Middleton, as I was told the other day: but says that he wants not her, for he hath others, and hath always had, and that he [Povy] hath known them brought through the Matted Gallery at White Hall into his [the Duke's] closet; nay, he hath come out of his wife's bed, and gone to others laid in bed for him: that Mr. Brouncker is not the only pimp, but that the whole family are of the same strain, and will do any thing to please him: that, besides the death of the two Princes lately, the family is in horrible disorder by being in debt by spending above 60,000*l.* per annum, when he hath not 40,000*l.*: that the Duchess is not only the proudest woman in the world, but the most expensefull; and that the Duke

¹ See 9th August, *post.*

of York's marriage with her hath undone the kingdom, by making the Chancellor so great above reach, who otherwise would have been but an ordinary man, to have been dealt with by other people; and he would have been careful of managing things well, for fear of being called to account; whereas, now he is secure, and hath let things run to rack, as they now appear. That at a certain time Mr. Povy did carry him an account of the state of the Duke of York's estate, showing in faithfulness how he spent more than his estate would bear, by above 20,000*l.* per annum, and asked my Lord's opinion to it; to which he answered that no man that loved the King or kingdom durst own the writing of that paper; at which Povy was startled, and reckoned himself undone for this good service, and found it necessary then to show it to the Duke of York's Commissioners;¹ who read, examined, and approved of it, so as to cause it to be put into form, and signed it, and gave it the Duke. Now the end of the Chancellor was, for fear that his daughter's ill housewifery should be condemned. He [Povy] tells me that the other day, upon this ill newes of the Dutch being upon us, White Hall was shut up, and the Council called and sat close; and, by the way, he do assure me, from the mouth of some Privy-councillors, that at this day the Privy-council in general do know no more what the state of the kingdom as to peace and war is, than he or I; nor who manages it, nor upon whom it depends; and there my Lord Chancellor did make a speech to them, saying that they knew well that he was no friend to the war from the beginning, and therefore had concerned himself little

¹ The Commissioners for regulating the Duke of York's affairs, in May, 1667, were John Lord Berkeley, of Stratton, Colonel Robert Werden, and Colonel Anthony Eyre.—*Household Book*, at Audley-End.

in, nor could say much to it; and a great deal of that kind, to discharge himself of the fault of the war. Upon which my Lord Anglesey rose up and told his Majesty that he thought their coming now together was not to enquire who was, or was not, the cause of the war, but to enquire what was, or could be, done in the business of making a peace, and in whose hands that was, and where it was stopped or forwarded; and went on very highly to have all made open to them: and, by the way, I remember that Captain Cocke did the other day tell me that this Lord Anglesey hath said, within few days, that he would willingly give 10,000*l.* of his estate that he was well secured of the rest, such apprehensions he hath of the sequel of things, as giving all over for lost. He tells me, speaking of the horrid effeminacy of the King, that the King hath taken ten times more care and pains in making friends between my Lady Castlemaine and Mrs. Stewart, when they have fallen out, than ever he did to save his kingdom; nay, that upon any falling out between my Lady Castlemaine's nurse and her woman, my Lady hath often said she would make the King to make them friends, and they would be friends and be quiet; which the King hath been fain to do: that the King is, at this day, every night in Hyde Park with the Duchess of Monmouth, or with my Lady Castlemaine: that he [Povy] is concerned of late by my Lord Arlington in the looking after some buildings that he is about in Norfolk,¹ where my Lord is laying

¹ At Euston Hall, in Suffolk, on the borders of Norfolk, which afterwards came into the Grafton family by the marriage of the first Duke with Lord Arlington's only child. Among Pepys's papers (Rawlinson, A. 195, fol. 58) is a document entitled "Considerations touching the purchase of the Park and Woods near Euston, drawn and presented by Mr. Povy, as his advice to my Lord Arlington, at this time (Oct. 28, 1668) in treaty for the purchase of Euston."

out a great deal of money ; and that he, Mr. Povy, considering the unsafeness of laying out money at such a time as this, and, besides, the enviousness of the particular county, as well as all the kingdom, to find him building and employing workmen, while all the ordinary people of the country are carried down to the sea-sides for securing the land, he thought it becoming him to go to my Lord Arlington (Sir Thomas Clifford by), and give it as his advice to hold his hands a little ; but my Lord would not, but would have him go on, and so Sir Thomas Clifford advised also, which one would think, if he were a statesman, should be a sign of his foreseeing that all should do well. He tells me that there is not so great confidence between any two men of power in the nation at this day, that he knows of, as between my Lord Arlington and Sir Thomas Clifford ; and that it arises by accident only, there being no relation nor acquaintance between them, but only Sir Thomas Clifford's coming to him, and applying himself to him for favours, when he came first up to town to be a Parliament-man. He tells me that he do not think there is anything in the world for us possibly to be saved by but the King of France's generousness to stand by us against the Dutch, and getting us a tolerable peace, it may be, upon our giving him Tangier and the islands he has taken, and other things he shall please to ask. He confirms me in the several grounds I have conceived of fearing that we shall shortly fall into mutinies and outrages among ourselves, and that therefore he, as a Treasurer, and therefore much more myself, as being not only a Treasurer but an officer in the Navy, on whom, for all the world knows, the faults of all our evils are to be laid, do fear to be seized on by some rude hands as having money to answer for, which will make me the more desirous to get off of this Treasurership as

soon as I can, as I had before in my mind resolved. Having done all this discourse, and concluded the kingdom in a desperate condition, we parted ; and I to my wife, with whom was Mercer and Betty Michell, poor woman, come with her husband to see us after the death of her little girle.

25th. Up, and with Sir W. Pen in his new chariot, which indeed is plain, but pretty and more fashionable in shape than any coach he hath, and yet do not cost him, harness and all, above 32*l.*, to White Hall ; where staid a very little : and thence to St. James's to Sir W. Coventry, whom I have not seen since before the coming of the Dutch into the river, nor did indeed know how well to go to see him, for shame either to him or me, or both of us, to find ourselves in so much misery. I find that he and his fellow-Treasurers are in the utmost want of money, and do find fault with Sir G. Carteret, that, having kept the mystery of borrowing money to himself so long, to the ruin of the nation, as Sir W. Coventry said in words to Sir W. Pen and me, he should now lay it aside and come to them for money for every penny he hath, declaring that he can raise no more : which, I confess, do appear to me the most like ill-will of any thing that I have observed of Sir W. Coventry, when he himself did tell us, on another occasion at the same time, that the bankers who used to furnish them money are not able to lend a farthing, and he knows well enough that that was all the mystery Sir G. Carteret did use, that is, only his credit with them. He told us the masters and owners of the two ships that I had complained of, for not readily setting forth their ships, which we had taken up to make men-of-war, had been yesterday with the King and Council, and had made their case so well understood, that the King did owe them for what they had earned the last year, and that they could

not set them out again without some money or stores out of the King's Yard ; the latter of which Sir W. Coventry said must be done, for that they were not able to raise money for them, though it was but 200*l*. a ship: which do show us our condition to be so bad, that I am in a total despair of ever having the nation do well. After that talking awhile, and all out of heart with stories of want of seamen, and seamen's running away, and their demanding a month's advance, and our being forced to give seamen 3*s*. a-day to go hence to work at Chatham, and other things that show nothing but destruction upon us ; for it is certain that, as it now is, the seamen of England, in my conscience, would, if they could, go over and serve the King of France or Holland rather than us. Up to the Duke of York to his chamber, where he seems to be pretty easy, and now and then merry ; but yet one may perceive in all their minds there is something of trouble and care, and with good reason. Thence to White Hall, with Sir W. Pen, by chariot ; and there in the Court met with my Lord Anglesey : and he to talk with Sir W. Pen, and told him of the masters of ships being with the Council yesterday, and that we were not in condition, though the men were willing, to furnish them with 200*l*. of money, already due to them as earned by them the last year, to enable them to set out their ships again this year for the King: which he is amazed at ; and when I told him, " My Lord, this is a sad instance of the condition we are in," he answered, that it was so indeed, and sighed ; and so parted: and he up to the Council-chamber, where I perceive they sit every morning. It is worth noting that the King and Council, in their order of the 23rd instant, for unloading three merchant-ships taken up for the King's service for men-of-war, do call the late coming of the Dutch " an invasion." I was told, yesterday, that Mr. Olden-

burg,¹ our Secretary at Gresham College, is put into the Tower, for writing newes to a virtuoso in France, with whom he constantly corresponds in philosophical matters ; which makes it very unsafe at this time to write, or almost do any thing. Several captains come to the office yesterday and to-day, complaining that their men come and go when they will, and will not be commanded, though they are paid every night, or may be. Nay, this afternoon comes Harry Russell from Gravesend, telling us that the money carried down yesterday for the chest at Chatham had like to have been seized upon yesterday, in the barge there, by seamen, who did beat our watermen : and what men should these be but the boat's crew of Sir Fretcheville Hollis, who used to brag so much of the goodness and order of his men, and his command over them. Sir H. Cholmly tells me great newes ; that this day in Council the King hath declared that he will call his Parliament in thirty days : which is the best newes I have heard a great while, and will, if any thing, save the kingdom. How the King came to be advised to this, I know not ; but he tells me that it was against the Duke of York's mind flatly, who did rather advise the King to raise money as he pleased ; and against the Chancellor's, who told the King that Queen Elizabeth did do all her business in eighty-eight without calling a Parliament, and so might he do, for anything he saw. But, blessed be God ! it is done ; and pray God it may hold, though some of us must surely go to the pot, for all must be flung up to them, or nothing will be done.

26th. The Parliament is ordered to meet the 25th of July, being, as they say, St. James's day ; which every creature is glad of. Walking to the Old Swan, I met Sir Thomas Harvy, whom, asking the newes of

¹ Henry Oldenburgh, Secretary to the Royal Society.

the Parliament's meeting, he told me it was true, and they would certainly make a great rout among us. I answered, I did not care for my part, though I was ruined, so that the Commonwealth might escape ruin by it. He answered, that is a good one, in faith; for you know yourself to be secure, in being necessary to the office; but for my part, says he, I must look to be removed; but then, says he, I doubt not but I shall have amends made me; for all the world knows upon what terms I came in, which is a saying that a wise man would not unnecessarily have said, I think, to any body, meaning his buying his place of my Lord Barkely [of Stratton]. Colonel Reymes tells me of a letter come last night, or the day before, from my Lord St. Albans, out of France, wherein he says, that the King of France did lately fall out with him, giving him ill names, saying that he had belied him to our King, by saying that he had promised to assist our King, and to forward the peace; saying that indeed he had offered to forward the peace at such a time, but it was not accepted of, and so he thinks himself not obliged, and would do what was fit for him; and so made him to go out of his sight in great displeasure: and he hath given this account to the King, which, Colonel Reymes tells me, puts them into new melancholy at Court, and he believes hath forwarded the resolution of calling the Parliament. At White Hall, spied Mr. Povy, who tells me, as a great secret, which none knows but himself, that Sir G. Carteret hath parted with his place of Treasurer of the Navy, by consent, to my Lord Anglesey, and is to be Treasurer of Ireland in his stead; but upon what terms it is, I know not: and that it is in his power to bring me to as great a friendship and confidence in my Lord Anglesey as ever I was with Sir W. Coventry. Such is the want already of coals, and the despair of having any sup-

ply, by reason of the enemy's being abroad, and no fleete of ours to secure them, that they are come this day to 5*l.* 10*s.* per chaldron.

27th. Wakened this morning, about three o'clock, by a letter from Sir W. Coventry to W. Pen, that the Dutch are come up to the Nore again, and he knows not whether further or no, and would have, therefore, several things done—ships sunk, and I know not what—which Sir W. Pen (who it seems is very ill this night, or would be thought so) hath directed Griffin to carry to the Trinity House. So up about six o'clock, full of thought what to do with the little money I have left and my plate, wishing with all my heart, that that was all secured. So to the office, where much business, and the more by my brethren being all out of the way; Sir W. Pen this night taken so ill cannot stir; Sir W. Batten ill at Walthamstow; Sir J. Minnes the like at Chatham, and my Lord Brouncker there also upon business. Horrible trouble with the backwardness of the merchants to let us have their ships, and seamen's running away, and not to be got or kept without money. It is worth while turning to our letters this day to Sir W. Coventry about these matters. At noon to dinner, having a haunch of venison boiled; and all my clerks at dinner with me; and mightily taken with Mr. Gibson's discourse of the faults of this war in its management compared with that in the last war, which I will get him to put into writing. Thence to the office, where I saw the proclamations come out this day for the Parliament to meet the 25th of next month; for which God be praised! and another to invite seamen to bring in their complaints, of their being ill-used in the getting their tickets and money. Pierce tells me that he hears for certain fresh at Court, that France and we shall agree; and more, that yesterday was damned at the Council, the

Canary Company ; and also that my Lord Mordaunt hath laid down his Commission, both good things to please the Parliament, which I hope will do good. Pierce tells me that all the town do cry out of our office, for a pack of fools and knaves ; but says that everybody speaks either well, or at least the best of me, which is my great comfort, and I think I deserve it, and shall show I have ; but yet do think, and he also, that the Parliament will send us all going ; and I shall be well contented with it, God knows ! But he tells me how Matt. Wren should say that he was told that I should say that W. Coventry was guilty of the miscarriage at Chatham, though I myself, as he confesses, did tell him otherwise, and that it was wholly Pett's fault. This do trouble me, not only as untrue, but as a design in some one or other to do me hurt ; for, as the thing is false, so it never entered into my mouth or thought, nor ever shall. He says that he hath rectified Wren in his belief of this, and so all is well. He gone, I to business till the evening, and then by chance home, and find the fellow that came up with my wife, Coleman, last from Brampton, a silly rogue, but one that would seem a gentleman ; but I did not stay with him. News this tide, that about 80 sail of the Dutch, great and small, were seen coming up the river this morning ; and this tide some of them to the upper end of the Hope.

28th. Sir W. Batten is come to town : I to see him ; he is very ill of his fever, and come only for advice. Sir J. Minnes, I hear also, is very ill all this night, worse than before. We find the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry gone this morning, by two o'clock, to Chatham, to come home to-night : and it is fine to observe how both the King and Duke of York have, in their several late journeys to and again, done them in the night for coolnesse. To

Sir G. Carteret, and I dined with my Lady and good company, and good dinner. My Lady and the family in very good humour upon this business of his parting with his place of Treasurer of the Navy, which I perceive they do own. They tell me that the Duke of Buckingham hath surrendered himself to Secretary Morrice, and is going to the Tower. Mr. Fenn, at the table, says that he hath been taken by the watch two or three times of late, at unseasonable hours, but so disguised that they could not know him: and when I come home, by and by, Mr. Lowther tells me that the Duke of Buckingham do dine publickly this day at Wadlow's, at the Sun Tavern; and is mighty merry, and sent word to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he would come to him as soon as he had dined. Now, how sad a thing it is, when we come to make sport of proclaiming men traitors, and banishing them, and putting them out of their offices, and Privy Council, and of sending to and going to the Tower: God have mercy on us! At table, my Lady and Sir Philip Carteret have great and good discourse of the greatness of the present King of France—what great things he hath done, that a man may pass, at any hour of the night, all over that wild city [Paris], with a purse in his hand and no danger: that there is not a beggar to be seen in it, nor dirt lying in it; that he hath married two of Colbert's daughters to two of the greatest princes of France, and given them portions—bought the greatest dukedom in France, and given it to Colbert;¹

¹ The Carterets appear to have mystified Pepys, who eagerly believed all that was told him. At this time Paris was notoriously unsafe, infested with robbers and beggars, and abominably unclean. Colbert had three daughters, of whom the eldest was just married when Pepys wrote, viz., Jean Marie Therèse, to the Duc de Chevreuse, on the 3rd February, 1667. The second daughter, Henriette Louise, was not married to the Duc de St. Aignan till 21st January, 1671; and the third, Marie Anne, to the Duc de

and ne'er a prince in France dare whisper against it, whereas here our King cannot do any such thing, but everybody's mouth is open against him for it, and the man that hath the favour also. That to several commanders that had not money to set them out to the present campagne, he did of his own accord send them 1,000*l.* sterling a-piece, to equip themselves. But then they did enlarge upon the slavery of the people—that they are taxed more than the real estates they have; nay, it is an ordinary thing for people to desire to give the King all their land that they have, and themselves become only his tenants, and pay him rent for the full value of it: so they may have but their earnings. But this will not be granted; but he shall give the value of his rent, and part of his labour too. That there is not a petty governor of a province—nay, of a town, but he will take the daughter from the richest man in the town under him, that hath got anything, and give her to his footman for a wife if he pleases, and the King of France will do the like to the best man in his kingdom—take his daughter from him, and give her to his footman, or whom he pleases. It is said that he do make a sport of us now; and says, that he knows no reason why his cozen, the King of England, should not be as willing to let him have his kingdom, as that the Dutch should take it from him. Sir G. Carteret did tell me, that the business was done between him and my Lord Anglesey; that himself is to have the other's place of Deputy Treasurer of Ireland, which is a place of honour and great profit, being far better than the Treasurer's, my Lord of Corke's,¹ and to give the other his, of Treasurer of

Mortemart, 14th February, 1679. Colbert himself was never made a Duke. His highest title was Marquis de Seignelay.

¹ The Earl of Burlington. Pepys here calls him by his Irish title.

the Navy; that the King, at his earnest entreaty, did, with much unwillingness, but with owning of great obligations to him, for his faithfulness and long service to him and his father, grant his desire. My Lord Chancellor, I perceive, is his friend in it. I remember I did in the morning tell Sir H. Cholmly of this business: and he answered me, he was sorry for it; for, whatever Sir G. Carteret was, he is confident my Lord Anglesey is one of the greatest knaves in the world. Home, and there find my wife making of tea; a drink which Mr. Pelling, the Potticary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions. To Sir W. Batten's, to see how he did; and he is better than he was. He told me how Mrs. Lowther had her train held up yesterday by her page,¹ at his house in the country; which is so ridiculous a piece of pride as I am ashamed of. He told me also how he hears by somebody that Mrs. Williams had sold her jewels and clothes to raise money for something or other; and indeed the last night a letter was sent from her to me, to send to my Lord, with about five pieces of gold in it, which methought at the time was but a poor supply. I then to Sir W. Pen, who continues a little ill, or dissembles it, the latter of which I am apt to believe. Here I staid but little, not meaning much kindness in it; and so to the office, and dispatched more business. Mr. Pelling supped with us, and told us the news of the town; how the officers of the Navy are cried out upon, and a great many greater men; but do think that I shall do well enough; and I think, if I have justice, I shall. He tells me of my Lord Duke of Buckingham, his dining to-day at the Sun, and that he was mighty merry; and, what is strange, tells me that really he is at this day a very popular man, the world reckoning him to

¹ See 14th July, *post*.

suffer upon no other account than that he did propound in Parliament to have all the questions that had to do with the receipt of the taxes and prizes ; but they must be very silly that do think he can do any thing out of good intention. After a great deal of tittle-tattle with this honest man, we to bed. We hear that the Dutch are gone down again ; and, thanks be to God ! the trouble they give us this second time is not very considerable.

29th. By coach to St. James's, and there find Sir W. Coventry and Sir W. Pen, and then we to discourse about making up our accounts against the Parliament ; and Sir W. Coventry did give us the best advice he could for us to provide for our own justification, believing, as every body do, that they will fall heavily upon us all, though he lay all upon want of money. He says he do prepare to justify himself, and that he hears that my Lord Chancellor, my Lord Arlington, the Vice Chamberlain and himself are reported all up and down the Coffee houses to be the four sacrifices that must be made to atone the people. Then we to talk of the loss of all affection and obedience now in the seamen, so that all power is lost. He told us that he do concur in thinking that want of money do do the most of it, but that that is not all, but the having of gentlemen Captains, who discourage all Tarpaulins, and have given out that they would in a little time bring it to that pass that a Tarpaulin should not dare to aspire to more than to be a Boatswain or a gunner. That this makes the Sea Captains to lose their own good affections to the service, and to instil it into the seamen also, and that the seamen do see it themselves and resent it ; and tells us that it is notorious, even to his bearing of great ill will at Court, that he has been the opposer of gentlemen Captains ; and Sir W. Pen did put in, and said that he was esteemed to

have been the man that did instil it into Sir W. Coventry, which Sir W. Coventry did owne also, and says that he has always told the Gentlemen Captains his opinion of them, and that himself who had now served to the business of the sea 6 or 7 years should know a little, and as much as them that had never almost been at sea, and that yet he found himself fitter to be a Bishop or Pope than to be a Sea-Commander, and so indeed he is. So home, and there I found Coleman come again, which vexed me. I staid there awhile and then to my study vexed, showing no civility to the man. But he comes on a compliment to receive my wife's commands into the country, whither he is going. By and by my cozen Thomas Pepys,¹ of Hatcham, came to see me, and he thinks nothing but a union of religious interests will ever settle us; and I do think that, and the Parliament's taking the whole management of things into their hands, and severe inquisitions into our miscarriages, will help us. To my wife, to whom I now propose the going to Chatham, who, mightily pleased with it, sent for Mercer to go with her, but she could not go, having friends at home; and the poor wretch was contented to stay at home, on condition to go to Epsum next Sunday. Talking with Sir W. Batten, he did give me an account how ill the King and Duke of York was advised to send orders for our frigates and fire-ships to come from Gravesend, soon as ever news come of the Dutch being returned into the river, wherein no seamen, he believes, was advised with; for, says he, we might have done just as Warwicke² did, when he, W. Batten,³ came with the King and the like fleete, in the late wars, into the river; for Warwicke did not run away from them, but sailed

¹ See *ante*, May 12, 1665, note.

² Robert Rich, second of the name, Earl of Warwick.

³ See 25th of May, 1660, note.

before them when they sailed, and came to anchor when they came to anchor, and always kept in a small distance from them : so as to be able to take every opportunity of any of their ships running aground, or change of wind, or any thing else, to his advantage. So might we have done with our fire-ships, and we have lost an opportunity of taking or burning a good ship of their's, which was run aground about Holehaven, I think he said, with the wind so as their ships could not get her away ; but we might have done what we would with her, and, it may be, done them mischief, too, with the wind.

30th. (Lord's day.) Up about three o'clock, and Creed and I got ourselves ready, and took coach at our gate, it being very fine weather, and the cool of the morning, and with much pleasure, without any stop, got to Rochester about ten of the clock. At the landing-place, I met my Lord Brouncker and my Lord Douglas,¹ and all the officers of the soldiers in the town, waiting there for the Duke of York, who they heard was coming. By and by comes my Lord Middleton, well mounted : he seems a fine soldier, and so every body says he is ; and a man, like my Lord Teviott and indeed most of the Scotch gentry, as I observe, of few words. After seeing the boats come up from Chatham, with them that rowed with bandealers about their shoulders, and muskets in their boats ; they being the workmen of the Yard, who have promised to redeem their credit, lost by their deserting the service when the Dutch were there ; I and Creed down by boat to Chatham-yard. Thence to see the batteries made ; which, indeed, are very fine, and guns placed so as one would think the River should be very secure. I was glad, as also it was new to me, to see so many fortifications as I

¹ James, second Marquis of Douglas, and nephew to the Duke of Hamilton.

have of late seen, and so up to the top of the Hill, there to look, and could see towards Sheerenesse, to spy the Dutch fleete, but could make out none but one vessel, they being all gone. Here I was told, that, in all the late attempt, there was but one man that they know killed on shore: and that was a man that had laid upon his belly upon one of the hills, on the other side of the River, to see the action; and a bullet come, and so he was killed. Thence back to the docke, and in my way saw how they are faine to take the deals of the rope-house to supply other occasions, and how sillily the country troopers look, that stand upon the passes there; and, methinks, as if they were more willing to run away than to fight, and it is said that the country soldiers did first run at Sheerenesse, but that then my Lord Douglas's men did run also; but it is excused that there was no defence for them towards the sea, that so the very beach did fly in their faces as the bullets came, and annoyed them, they having, after all this preparation of the officers of the ordnance, only done something towards the land, and nothing at all towards the sea. The people here everywhere do speak very badly of Sir Edward Spragge, as not behaving himself as he should have done in that business, going away with the first, and that old Captain Pyne, who, I am here told, and no sooner, is Master-Gunner of England, was the last that staid there. Thence by barge, it raining hard, down to the chaine; and in our way did see the sad wrackes of the poor "Royall Oake," "James," and "London;" and several other of our ships by us sunk, and several of the enemy's, whereof three men-of-war that they could not get off, and so burned. I do not see that Upnor Castle hath received any hurt by them, though they played long against it; and they themselves shot till they had hardly a gun left upon the carriages, so badly pro-

vided they were : they have now made two batteries on that side, which will be very good, and do good service. So to the chaine, and there saw it fast at the end on Upnor side of the River ; very fast, and borne up upon the several stages across the River ; and where it is broke nobody can tell me. I went on shore on Upnor side to look upon the end of the chaine ; and caused the link to be measured, and it was six inches and one-fourth in circumference. It seems very remarkable to me, and of great honour to the Dutch, that those of them that did go on shore to Gillingham, though they went in fear of their lives, and were some of them killed ; and, notwithstanding their provocation at Schelling,¹ yet killed none of our people nor plundered their houses, but did take some things of easy carriage, and left the rest, and not a house burned ; and, which is to our eternal disgrace, that what my Lord Douglas's men, who came after them, found there, they plundered and took all away ; and the watermen that carried us did further tell us, that our own soldiers are far more terrible to those people of the country-towns than the Dutch themselves. We were told at the batteries, upon my seeing of the field-guns that were there, that, had they come a day sooner, they had been able to have saved all ; but they had no orders, and lay lingering upon the way, and did not come forward for want of direction. Commissioner Pett's house was all unfurnished, he having carried away all his goods. I met with no satisfaction whereabouts the chaine was broke, but do confess I met with nobody that I could well expect to have satisfaction from, it being Sunday ; and the officers of the Yard most of them abroad, or at the Hill house. Several complaints, I hear, of the Monmouth's coming away too soon from the chaine,

¹ The island near the entrance of the Zuyder Zee, on which Sir Robert Holmes had landed. See August 15, 1666, *ante*.

where she was placed with the two guard-ships to secure it ; and Captain Robert Clerke, my friend, is blamed for so doing there, but I hear nothing of him at London about it ; but Captain Brooke's running aground with the "*Sancta Maria*," which was one of the three ships that were ordered to be sunk to have dammed up the River at the chaine, is mightily cried against, and with reason, he being the chief man to approve of the abilities of the other men, and the two other ships did get safe thither and he run aground ; but yet I do hear that though he be blameable, yet if she had been there, she nor two more to them three would have been able to have commanded the river all over. I find that here, as it hath been in our river,¹ fire-ships, when fitted, have been sunk afterwards, and particularly those here at the Mussle,² where they did no good at all. Our great ships that were run aground and sunk are all well raised but the "*Vanguard*," which they go about to raise to-morrow. "*The Henery*," being let loose to drive up the river of herself, did run up as high as the bridge, and broke down some of the rails of the bridge, and so back again with the tide, and up again, and then berthed himself so well as no pilot could ever have done better ; and Punnet says he would not, for his life, have undertaken to have done it, with all his skill. I find it is true that the Dutch did heele "*The Charles*" to get her down, and yet run aground twice or thrice, and yet got her safe away, and have her, with a great many good guns in her, which none of our pilots would ever have undertaken. It is very considerable the quantity of goods, which the making of these platforms and batterys do take out of the King's stores : so that we shall have little left there, and, God knows ! no credit to buy any.

¹ The Thames.

² Muscle Bank, in the Medway.

It is a strange thing to see that, while my Lords Douglas and Middleton do ride up and down upon single horses, my Lord Brouncker do go up and down with his hackney-coach and six horses at the King's charge. But I do not see that he hath any command over the seamen, he being affronted by three or four seamen before my very face, which he took sillily, methought ; and is not able to do so much good as a good boatswain in this business. My Lord Brouncker, I perceive, do endeavour to speak well of Commissioner Pett, saying that he did exercise great care and pains while he was there, but do not undertake to answer for his carrying up of the great ships. Back again to Rochester, and there walked to the Cathedral as they were begun of the service, but would not be seen to stay at church there, besides had no mind, but rather to go to our inne, the White Hart, where we drank and were fain (the towne being so full of soldiers) to have a bed corded for us to lie in. Here in the streets, I did hear the Scotch march beat by the drums before the soldiers, which is very odde. Thence to the Castle, and viewed it with Creed, and had good satisfaction from him that showed it us touching the history of it. Then into the fields, a fine walk, and there saw Sir F. Clerk's house, which is a pretty seat, and into the cherry garden, and here met with a young, plain, silly shopkeeper, and his wife, a pretty young woman, and I did kiss her, and we talked and eat cherries together, and then to walk in the fields till it was late, and then to our inne, where, I hear, my Lord Brouncker hath sent to speak with me : so I took his coach, which stands there with two horses, and to him and to his bedside, where he was in bed, and hath a watchman with a halbert at his door ; and to him, and did talk a little, and find him a very weak man for this business that he is upon ; and do

pity the King's service, that is no better handled, and his folly to call away Pett before we could have found a better man to have staid in his stead. With Creed back to our inne to supper, and then to bed, but could get no sheets to our bed, only linen to our mouths, and so to sleep.

July 1st. We took coach, and, being very sleepy, droused most part of the way to Gravesend, and there 'light, and down to the new batterys, which are like to be very fine, and there did hear a plain fellow cry out upon the folly of the King's officers above, to spend so much money in works at Woolwich and Deptford, and sinking of good ships loaden with goods, when, if half the charge had been laid out here, it would have secured all that, and this place too, before now. And I think it is not only true, but that the best of the actions of us all are so silly, that the meanest people begin to see through them, and condemn them. Besides, says he, they spoil the river by it. Then informed ourselves where we might have some creame, and thither we went with the coach, and found it a mighty clean, plain, house, and had a dish of very good creame to our liking, and so away presently very merry, and fell to reading of the several advices to a Painter, which made us good sport, and indeed are very witty, and Creed did also repeat to me some of the substance of letters of old Burleigh in Queen Elizabeth's time, which he has of late read in the printed Cabbala, which is a very fine style at this day and fit to be imitated. With this, and talking and laughing at the folly of our masters in the management of things at this day, we got home by noon, where all well. Then to the office, where I am sorry to hear that Sir J. Minnes is likely to die this night.

2nd. Up and put on my new silke camelott suit, made of my cloak, and suit now made into a vest.

So to the office, where W. Pen and myself, and Sir T. Harvy met, the first time we have had a meeting, since the coming of the Dutch upon this coast. Our only business (for we have little else to do, nobody being willing to trust us for anything) was to speak with the owners of six merchantmen which we have been taking up this fortnight, and are yet in no readiness, they not fitting their ships without money advanced to them, we owing them for what their ships have earned the last year. So everything stands still while we want money to pay for some of the most necessary things that we promised ready money for in the height of our wants, as grapnells, &c. Busy till night, and then comes Mrs. Turner, and tells me how she hears at the other end of the town how bad our office is spoken of by the King and Prince and Duke of Albemarle, and that there is not a good word said of any of us but of me, and me they all do speak mightily of, which, whether true or no, I am mighty glad to hear, but from all put together that I hear from other people, I am likely to pass as well as anybody. So, she gone, comes my wife and to walk in the garden, Sir J. Minnes being still ill and so keeping us from singing, and by and by Sir W. Pen came and walked with us and gave us a bottle of Syder, and so we home to supper. This day I am told that poor Tooker is dead, a very painfull poor man as ever I knew.

3rd. Sir Richard Ford tells us how he hath been at the Sessions-house, and there it is plain that there is a combination of rogues in the town, that do make it their business to set houses on fire, and that one house they did set on fire in Aldersgate Streete last Easter; and that this is proved by two young men, whom one of them debauched by degrees to steal their fathers' plate and clothes, and at last to be of their company; and they had their places to take up

what goods were flung into the streets out of the windows, when the houses were on fire; and this is like to be proved to a great number of rogues, whereof five are already found, and some found guilty this day. One of these boys is the son of a Montagu,¹ of my Lord Manchester's family; but whose son he could not tell me. To the Council-chamber, to deliver a letter to their Lordships about the state of the six merchantmen which we have been so long fitting out. When I came, the King and the whole table full of Lords were hearing of a pitifull cause of a complaint of an old man, with a great grey beard, against his son, for not allowing him something to live on; and at last came to the ordering the son to allow his father 10*l.* a-year. This cause lasted them near two hours; which, methinks, at this time to be the work of the Council-board of England, is a scandalous thing. Here I find all the newes is the enemy's landing 3,000 men near Harwich, and attacking Landguard Fort, and being beat off thence with our great guns, killing some of their men, and they leaving their ladders behind them; but we had no Horse in the way on Suffolk side, otherwise we might have galled their Foot. The Duke of York is gone down thither this day, while the General² sat sleeping this afternoon at the Council-table. This cause being over, the Trinity men, whom I did not expect to meet, were called in, and there Sir W. Pen made a formal speech in answer to a question of the King's, whether the lying of the sunk ships in the river would spoil the river. But Lord! how gingerly he answered it, and with a deal of do that he did not know whether it would be safe as to the enemy to have them taken up, but that

¹ A son of James Montague, of Lackham, third son of the first Earl of Manchester, by his wife, Mary, daughter of Sir R. Baynard, of Lackham, Wilts.

² The Duke of Albemarle.

doubtless it would be better for the river. Methought the Council found them answer like fools, and it ended in bidding them think more of it, and putting their answer in writing. Thence I to Westminster Hall, and there hear how they talk against the present management of things, and against Sir W. Coventry for his bringing in of new commanders and casting out the old seamen, which I did endeavour to rectify them in, letting them know that he has opposed it all his life the most of any man in England. Thence to White Hall to Mr. Williamson, and by and by my Lord Arlington about Mr. Lanyon's business, and it is pretty to see how Mr. Williamson did altogether excuse himself that my business was not done when I came to my Lord and told him my business; Why, says my Lord, it has been done, and the King signed it several days ago, and so it was and was in Mr. Williamson's hand, which made us both laugh, and I in innocent mirth, I remember, said, it is pretty to see in what a condition we are that all our matters now-a-days are undone, we know not how, and done we know not when. He laughed at it, but I have since reflected on it, and find it a severe speech as it might be taken by a chief minister of state, as indeed Mr. Williamson is, for he is indeed the Secretary. But we fell to other pleasant talk, and a fine gentleman he is, and so gave him 5*l.* for his fee, and away home.

4th. To the Sessions-house, where I have a mind to hear Bazill Fielding's case¹ tried; and so got up to the Bench, my Lord Chief-Justice Keeling² being Judge. Here I stood bare, not challenging, though I might well enough, to be covered. But here were several fine trials; among others, several brought in

¹ See 9th May, 1667, *ante*.

² Sir John Keeling, King's Serjeant, 1661; Chief Justice of the King's Bench, 1665.

for making it their trade to set houses on fire merely to get plunder ; and all proved by the two little boys spoken of yesterday by Sir R. Ford, who did give so good account of particulars that I never heard children in my life. And I confess, though I was unsatisfied with the force given to such little boys, to take away men's lives, yet, when I was told that my Lord Chief-Justice did declare that there was no law against taking the oath of children above twelve years old, and then heard from Sir R. Ford the good account which the boys had given of their understanding the nature and consequence of an oath, and now my own observation of the sobriety and readiness of their answers, further than of any man of any rank that came to give witness this day, though some men of years and learning, I was a little amazed, and fully satisfied that they ought to have as much credit as the rest. They proved against several, their consulting several times at a brothel in Moore-Fields, called the Russia House, among many other rogueries, of setting houses on fire, that they might gather the goods that were flung into the streets ; and it is worth considering how unsafe it is to have children play up and down this lewd town. For these two boys, one my Lady Montagu's, I know not what Lady Montagu, son, and the other of good condition, were playing in Moore-Fields, and one rogue, Gabriel Holmes, did come to them and teach them to drink, and then to bring him plate and clothes from their fathers' houses, and carry him into their houses, and leaving open the doors for him, and at last were made of their conspiracy, and were at the very burning of this house in Aldersgate Street, on Easter Sunday night last, and did gather up goods, as they had resolved before : and this Gabriel Holmes did advise to have had two houses set on fire, one after another, that, while they were quenching of one, they might

be burning another. And it is pretty that G. Holmes did tell his fellows, and these boys swore it, that he did set fire to a box of linen in the Sheriffe, Sir Joseph Shelden's house, while he was attending the fire in Aldersgate Street, and the Sheriffe himself said that there was a fire in his house, in a box of linen, at the same time, but cannot conceive how this fellow should do it. The boys did swear against one of them, that he had made it his part to pull the plug out of the engine while it was a-playing; and it really was so. And goods they did carry away, and the manner of the setting the house on fire was, that Holmes did get to a cockpit, where, it seems, there was a publick cockpit, and set fire to the straw in it, and hath a fire-ball at the end of the straw, which did take fire, and so it prevailed, and burned the house; and, among other things they carried away, he took six of the cocks that were at the cockpit; and afterwards the boys told us how they had one dressed, by the same token it was so hard they could not eat it. But that which was most remarkable was the impudence of this Holmes, who hath been arraigned often, and still got away; and on this business was taken and broke loose just at Newgate Gate; and was last night luckily taken about Bow, where he got loose, and run into the river, and hid himself in the rushes; and they pursued him with a dog, and the dog got him and held him till he was taken. But the impudence of this fellow was such, that he denied he ever saw the boys before, or everknew the Russia House, or that the people knew him; and by and by the mistress of the Russia House was called in, being indicted, at the same time, about another thing; and she denied that the fellow was of her acquaintance, when it was pretty to see how the little boys did presently fall upon her, and ask her how she durst say so, when she was always with them when they met at her house,

and particularly when she came in her smock before a dozen of them, at which the Court laughed, and put the woman away. Well, this fellow Holmes¹ was found guilty of the act of burning the house, and other things, that he stood indicted for. And then there were other good cases, as of a woman that came to serve a gentlewoman, and in three days run away, betimes in the morning, with a great deal of plate and rings, and other good things. It was time very well spent to be here. Here I saw how favourable the judge was to a young gentleman that struck one of the officers, for not making him room: told him he had endangered the loss of his hand, but that he hoped he had not struck him, and would suppose that he had not struck him. The Court then rose, and I to dinner with my Lord Mayor and Sheriffs; where a good dinner and a good discourse, the Judge being there. There was also tried this morning Fielding, which I thought had been Bazill;—but it proved the other, and Bazill was killed;—that killed his brother, who was found guilty of murder, and nobody pitied him. The Judge seems to be a worthy man, and able: and do intend, for these rogues that burned this house to be hung in some conspicuous place in the town, for an example.

5th. Sir G. Carteret did come to us. He told us that the great seale is passed to my Lord Anglesey for Treasurer of the Navy: so that now he do no more belong to us: and I confess, for his sake, I am glad of it, and do believe the other will have little content in it. At noon I home to dinner with my wife, and after dinner to sing, and then to the office a little and Sir W. Batten's, where I am vexed to hear that Nan Wright, now Mrs. Markham, Sir W. Pen's mayde

¹ According to Smith's "Obituary," Gabriel Holmes was hanged on the 11th July, 1667, and buried in the new churchyard in the fields, in Cripplegate parish.

and mistress, is come to sit in our pew at church, and did so while my Lady Batten was there. I confess I am very much vexed at it and ashamed. No news, but that the Dutch are gone clear from Harwich northward, and have given out that they are going to Yarmouth.

6th. Up and to the office. At noon home, whither Creed came to dine with us and brings the first news of a peace. The news was so good and sudden that I went with great joy to Sir W. Batten and then to Sir W. Pen to tell it them, and so home to dinner mighty merry, and light at my heart only on this ground, that a continuing of the war must undo us, and so though peace may do the like if we do not make good use of it to reform ourselves and get up money, yet there is an opportunity for us to save ourselves; at least, for my own particular, we shall continue well till I can get my money into my hands, and then I will shift for myself. Thence with joyful heart to White Hall to ask Mr. Williamson, who told me that Mr. Coventry is coming over with a project of a peace; which, if the States agree to, and our King, when their Ministers on both sides have showed it them, we shall agree, and that is all: but the King, I hear, do give it out plain that the peace is concluded. Thence by coach home, and there wrote a few letters, and then to consult with my wife about going to Epsom to-morrow, sometimes designing to go and then again not; at last I bethought myself of business to employ me at home to-morrow, and so I did not go. This afternoon I met with Mr. Rolt, who tells me that he is going Cornett under Collonel Ingoldsby, being his old acquaintance, and Ingoldsby has a troop now from under the King, and I think it is a handsome way for him, but it was an ominous thing, methought, just as he was bidding me his last adieu, his nose fell a-bleeding, which ran in my mind

a pretty while after. This afternoon Sir Alexander Frazier, who was of counsel for Sir J. Minnes, and had given him over for a dead man, said to me at White Hall :—"What," says he, "Sir J. Minnes is dead." I told him, "No! but that there is hopes of his life." Methought he looked very sillily after it, and went his way. Late home, a little troubled at my not going to Epsum to-morrow, as I had resolved, especially having the Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry out of town, but it was my own fault and at last my judgment to stay, and so after supper to bed. This day, with great satisfaction, I hear that my Lady Jemimah is brought to bed, at Hinchinbroke, of a boy.¹

7th. (Lord's day.) Mr. Moore tells me that the discontented Parliament-men are fearful that the next sitting the King will try for a general excise, by which to raise him money, and then to fling off the Parliament, and raise a land-army and keep them all down like slaves; and it is gotten among them, that Bab. May, the Privy-purse, had been heard to say that 300*l.* a-year is enough for any country gentleman; which makes them mad, and they do talk of 6 or 800,000*l.* gone into the Privy-purse this war, when in King James's time it arose but to 5,000*l.*, and in King Charles's time but 10,000*l.* in a year. He tells me that a goldsmith in town told him that, being with some plate with my Lady Castlemaine lately, she directed her woman (the great beauty), "Wilson," says she, "make a note for this, and for that, to the Privy-purse for money." He tells me a little more of the baseness of the courses taken at Court in the case of Mr. Moyer,² who is at liberty, and is to give

¹ George Carteret, in 1681, created Baron Carteret, of Hawnes, co. Bedford, in consideration of the eminent services rendered by his father and grandfather to Charles II.

² See vol. i. Dec. 1, 1661.

500*l.* for his liberty; but now the great ones are divided, who shall have the money, the Duke of Albemarle on one hand, and another Lord on the other; and that it is fain to be decided by having the person's name put into the King's warrant for his liberty, at whose intercession the King shall own that he is set at liberty; which is a most lamentable thing, that we do professedly own that we do these things, not for right and justice sake, but only to gratify this or that person about the King. God forgive us all! Busy till the evening, and then with my wife and Jane over to half-way house,¹ a very good walk; and there drank, and in the cool of the evening back again, and sang with pleasure upon the water, and were mightily pleased in hearing a boat-full of Spaniards sing. Jane of late mighty fine, by reason of a laced whiske her mistress hath given her, which makes her a very gracefull servant. But, above all, my wife and I were the most surprised in the beauty of a plain girle, which we met in the little lane going from Redriffe-stairs into the fields, one of the prettiest faces that we think we ever saw in our lives.

8th. Mr. Coventry is come from Bredah, as was expected; but, contrary to expectation, brings with him two or three articles which do not please the King: as, to retrench the Act of Navigation, and then to ascertain what are contraband goods; and then that those exiled persons, who are or shall take refuge in their country, may be secure from any further prosecution. Whether these will be enough to break the peace upon, or no, he cannot tell; but I perceive the certainty of peace is blown over. So called on my wife and to Charing Cross, there to see the great boy and girle that are lately come out

¹ Probably the Jamaica House. See 14th April, 1667, *ante*.

of Ireland, the latter eight, the former but four years old, of most prodigious bigness for their age. I tried to weigh them in my arms, and find them twice as heavy as people almost twice their age; and yet I am apt to believe they are very young. Their father a little sorry fellow, and their mother an old Irish woman. They have had four children of this bigness, and four of ordinary growth, whereof two of each are dead. If, as my Lord Ormond certifies, it be true that they are no older, it is very monstrous.

9th. This day my Lord Anglesey, our new Treasurer, came the first time to the Board; and I do perceive he is a very notable man, and understanding, and will do things regular, and understand them himself, not trust Fenn, as Sir G. Carteret did, and will solicit soundly for money, which I do fear was Sir G. Carteret's fault, that he did not do that enough, considering the age we live in. This evening comes news for certain that the Dutch are with their fleet before Dover, and that it is expected they will attempt something there. The business of the peace is quite dashed again, so as now it is doubtful whether the King will condescend to what the Dutch demand, it being so near a Parliament, it being a thing that will, it may be, recommend him to them when they shall find that the not having of a peace lies on his side by denying some of their demands. This morning Captain Clerke (Robin Clerke) was at the table, now commands the Monmouth, and did when the enemy passed the chaine at Chatham the other day, who said publickly at the table that he did admire at the order when it was brought him for sinking of the Monmouth, to the endangering of the ship, and spoiling of all her provisions, when her number of men were upon her that he could have carried her up the River whither he pleased, and have been a guard to the rest, and could have sunk her at any

time. He did carry 100 barrels of powder out of the ship to save it after the orders came for the sinking her. He knew no reason at all, he declares, that could lead them to order the sinking her, nor the rest of the great ships that were sunk, but above all admires they would turn them on shore and sink them there, when it had been better to have sunk them long way in the middle of the River, for then they would not have burned them so low as now they did.

10th. This day our girle Mary, whom Payne helped us to, to be under his daughter, when she came to be our cook-mayde, did go away declaring that, she must be where she might earn something one day, and spend it and play away the next. But a good civil wench, and one neither wife nor I did ever give angry word to, but she has a silly vanity that she must play.

11th. Up betimes and to my office, and there busy till the office met, which was only Sir T. Harvey and myself. He tells me that the Council last night did sit close to determine of the King's answer about the peace, and that though he do not certainly know, vet by all discourse yesterday he do believe it is peace, and that the King had said it should be peace, and had been with Alderman Backwell to declare it upon the 'Change. It is high time for us to have peace that the King and Council may get up their credits and have time to do it, for that indeed is the bottom of all our misery, that nobody has any so good opinion of the King and his Council and their advice as to lend money or venture their persons, or estates, or pains upon people that they know cannot thrive with all that we can do, but either by their corruption or negligence must be undone. This indeed is the very bottom of every man's thought, and the certain grounds that we must be ruined unless the King changes his course, or the Parliament come

and alter it. At noon dined alone with my wife. All the afternoon close at the office, very hard at gathering papers and putting things in order against the Parliament, in hopes to have all things in my office in good condition in a little time for any body to examine, which I am sure none else will.

12th. Up betimes, and by and by comes Greeting and begun a new month with him, and now to learn to set anything from the notes upon the flageolet, but, Lord! to see how like a fool he goes about to give me direction would make a man mad. I out by coach to White Hall and to the Treasury chamber, where did a little business. Met at White Hall with Sir H. Cholmly, he telling me that undoubtedly the peace is concluded; for he did stand yesterday where he did hear part of the discourse at the Council table, and there did hear the King argue for it. Among other things, that the spirits of the seamen were down, and the forces of our enemies are grown too great and many for us, and he would not have his subjects overpressed; for he knows an Englishman would do as much as any man upon hopeful terms; but where he sees he is overpressed, he despairs as soon as any other; and, besides that, they have already such a load of dejection upon them, that they will not be in temper a good while again. He heard my Lord Chancellor say to the King, "Sir," says he, "the whole world do complain publickly of treachery, that things have been managed falsely by some of your great ministers. Sir," says he, "I am for your Majesty's falling into a speedy enquiry into the truth of it, and, where you meet with it, punish it. But, at the same time, consider what you have to do, and make use of your time for having a peace; for more money will not be given without much trouble, nor is it, I fear, to be had of the people, nor will a little do it to put us into condition of doing our business."

But the other day Sir H. Cholmly tells me he [the Chancellor] did say at his table, "Treachery!" says he; "I could wish we could prove there was anything of that sort in it; for that would imply some wit and thoughtfulness; but we are ruined merely by folly and neglect." And so they did all argue for peace, and so he do believe that the King hath agreed to the three points Mr. Coventry brought over, which I have mentioned before, and is gone with them back. He tells me further that the Duke of Buckingham was before the Council the other day, and there did carry it very submissively and pleasingly to the King; but to my Lord Arlington, who did prosecute the business, he was most bitter and sharp, and very slighting. As to the letter about his employing a man to cast the King's nativity, says he to the King, "Sir, this is none of my hand, and I refer it to your Majesty whether you do not know this hand." The King answered, that it was indeed none of his, and that he knew whose it was, but could not recall it presently. "Why," says he, "it is my sister of Richmond's,¹ some frolick or other of her's about some certain person; and there is nothing of the King's name in it, but it is only said to be his by supposition, as is said." The King, it seems, was not very much displeased with what the Duke had said; but, however, he is still in the Tower, and no discourse of his being out in haste, though my Lady Castlemaine hath so far solicited for him that the King and she are quite fallen out: he comes not to her, nor hath for some three or four days; and parted with very foul words, the King calling her a jade that meddled with things she had nothing to do with at all: and she calling him a fool; and told him if he was not a fool, he would not suffer his businesses to be carried

¹ See note, April 21, 1662.

on by fellows that did not understand them, and cause his best subjects, and those best able to serve him, to be imprisoned ; meaning the Duke of Buckingham. And it seems she was not only for his liberty, but to be restored to all his places ; which, it is thought, he will never be. It was computed that the Parliament had given the King for this war only, besides all prizes, and beside the 200,000*l.* which he was to spend of his own revenue, to guard the sea above 5,000,000*l.* and odd 100,000*l.* ; which is a most prodigious sum. Sir H. Cholmly, as a true English gentleman, do decry the King's expenses of his Privy-purse, which in King James's time did not rise to above 5,000*l.* a-year, and in King Charles's to 10,000*l.*, do now cost us above 100,000*l.*, besides the great charge of the monarchy, as the Duke of York 100,000*l.* of it, and other limbs of the Royal family, and the guards, which, for his part, says he, " I would have all disbanded, for the King is not the better by them, and would be as safe without them ; for we have had no rebellions to make him fear anything." But, contrarily, he is now raising of a land army, which this Parliament and kingdom will never bear ; besides, the commanders they put over them are such as will never be able to raise or command them ; but the design is, and the Duke of York, he says, is hot for it, to have a land-army, and so to make the government like that of France, but our princes have not brains, or at least care and forecast enough to do that. It is strange how every body do now-a-days reflect upon Oliver, and commend him, what brave things he did, and made all the neighbour princes fear him ; while here a prince, come in with all the love and prayers and good liking of his people, who have given greater signs of loyalty and willingness to serve him with their estates than ever was done by any people, hath lost all so soon, that it is a

miracle what way a man could devise to lose so much in so little time. Thence he set me down at my Lord Crew's and I up to my Lord, where Sir Thomas Crew was. Here was my Lord Hinchinbroke also, newly come from Hinchinbroke, where all well, but methinks I knowing in what case he stands for money by his demands to me and the report Mr. Moore gives of the management of the family, makes me, God forgive me ! to condemn him, though I do really honour and pity them, though they deserve it not, that have so good an estate and will live beyond it. To dinner, and very good discourse with my Lord. Sir Thomas Crew tells me how I am mightily in esteem with the Parliament ; there being harangues made in the House to the Speaker, of Mr. Pepys's readiness and civility to show them every thing, which I am at this time very glad of. Thence, after dinner home, and there find my wife in a dogged humour for my not dining at home, and I did give her a pull by the nose and some ill words, which she provoked me to by something she spoke, that we fell extraordinarily out, insomuch, that I going to the office to avoid further anger, she followed me in a devilish manner thither, and with much ado I got her into the garden out of hearing, to prevent shame, and so home, and by degrees I found it necessary to calme her, and did, and then to the office, where pretty late, and then to walk with her in the garden, and pretty good friends, and so to bed with my mind very quiet.

13th. Mighty hot weather, I lying this night, which I have not done, I believe, since a boy, with only a rugg and a sheet upon me. Mr. Pierce tells us what troubles me, that my Lord Buckhurst hath got Nell away from the King's house, and gives her 100*l.* a year, so as she hath sent her parts to the house, and will act no more. And yesterday Sir Thomas Crew

told me that Lacy lies a-dying ; nor will receive any ghostly advice from a Bishop, an old acquaintance of his, that went to see him. My wife and I to the New Exchange, to pretty mayde Mrs. Smith's shop, where I left my wife, and I mightily pleased with this Mrs. Smith, being a very pleasant woman. It is an odd and sad thing to say, that though this be a peace worse than we had before, yet every body's fear almost is, that the Dutch will not stand by their promise, now the King hath consented to all they would have. And yet no wise man that I meet with, when he comes to think of it, but wishes, with all his heart, a war ; but that the King is not a man to be trusted with the management of it. It was pleasantly said by a man in this City, a stranger, to one that told him that the peace was concluded, "Well," says he, "and have you a peace?"—"Yes," says the other.—"Why, then," says he, "hold your peace!" partly reproaching us with the disgracefulness of it, that it is not fit to be mentioned ; and next, that we are not able to make the Dutch keep it, when they have a mind to break it. Sir Thomas Crew yesterday, speaking of the King of France, how great a man he is, why, says he, all the world thought that when the last Pope died,¹ there would have been such bandying between the Crowns of France and Spain, whereas, when he was asked what he would have his ministers at Rome do, why, says he, let them choose who they will ; if the Pope will do what is fit, the Pope and I will be friends. If he will not, I will take a course with him : therefore, I will not trouble myself ; and thereupon the election² was despatched in a little time—I think in a day, and all ended.

14th. (Lord's-day.) Up, and my wife, a little be-

¹ Alexander VII. He died 22nd May, 1667, N. S.

² Of Clement IX., Giulio Rospigliosi, elected 20th June, 1667, N. S.

fore four, and to make us ready ; and by and by Mrs. Turner came to us, by agreement, and she and I staid talking below, while my wife dressed herself, which vexed me that she was so long about it, keeping us till past five o'clock before she was ready. She ready; and, taking some bottles of wine, and beer, and some cold fowle with us into the coach, we took coach and four horses, which I had provided last night, and so away. A very fine day, and so towards Epsum, talking all the way pleasantly, and particularly of the pride and ignorance of Mrs. Lowther, in having of her train carried up.¹ The country very fine, only the way very dusty. To Epsum, by eight o'clock, to the well ; where much company, and I drank the water : they did not, but I did drink four pints. And to the towne, to the King's Head ; and hear that my Lord Buckhurst and Nelly are lodged at the next house, and Sir Charles Sedley with them : and keep a merry house. Poor girl ! I pity her ; but more the loss of her at the King's house. W. Hewer rode with us, and I left him and the women, and myself walked to the church, where few people to what I expected, and none I knew, but all the Houblons, brothers, and them after sermon I did salute, and walk with towards my inne. James did tell me that I was the only happy man of the Navy, of whom, he says, during all this freedom the people hath taken to speaking treason, he hath not heard one bad word of me, which is a great joy to me ; for I hear the same of others, but do know that I have deserved as well as most. We parted to meet anon, and I to my women into a better room, which the people of the house borrowed for us, and there to a good dinner, and were merry, and Pembleton came to us, who happened to be in the house, and there talked and

¹ See 28th June, *ante*.

were merry. After dinner, he gone, we all lay down, the day being wonderful hot, to sleep, and each of us took a good nap, and then rose; and here Tom Wilson came to see me, and sat and talked an hour; and I perceive he hath been much acquainted with Dr. Fuller (Tom) and Dr. Pierson, and several of the great cavalier parsons during the late troubles; and I was glad to hear him talk of them, which he did very ingenuously, and very much of Dr. Fuller's art of memory, which he did tell me several instances of. By and by he parted, and we took coach and to take the ayre, there being a fine breeze abroad; and I carried them to the well, and there filled some bottles of water to carry home with me; and there I talked with the two women that farm the well, at 12*l.* per annum, of the lord of the manor. Mr. Evelyn¹ with his lady, and also my Lord George Barkeley's lady,² and their fine daughter, that the King of France liked so well, and did dance so rich in jewells before the King at the Ball I was at, at our Court, last winter, and also their son,³ a Knight of the Bath, were at church this morning. Here W. Hewer's horse broke loose, and we had the sport to see him taken again. Then I carried them to see my cozen Pepys's house, and 'light, and walked round about it, and they like it, as indeed it deserves, very well, and is a pretty place; and then I walked them to the wood hard by, and there got them in the thickets till they had lost themselves, and I could not find the way into any of the walks in the wood, which indeed are very pleasant,

¹ This was probably Richard Evelyn, of Woodcote Park, near Epsom, and his wife Elizabeth, daughter and heir of George Mynne, Esq., of Horton in Epsom, both of which places belonged to her.

² Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of John Massingberd.

³ Charles, eldest son, summoned to Parliament as Baron Berkeley, *vita patris*, 1680. Ob. 1710; having succeeded his father in the Earldom, 1698.

if I could have found them. At last got out of the wood again ; and I, by leaping down the little bank, coming out of the wood, did sprain my right foot, which brought me great present pain, but presently, with walking, it went away for the present, and so the women and W. Hewer and I walked upon the Downes, where a flock of sheep was ; and the most pleasant and innocent sight that ever I saw in my life. We found a shepherd and his little boy reading, far from any houses or sight of people, the Bible to him ; so I made the boy read to me, which he did, with the forced tone that children do usually read, that was mighty pretty, and then I did give him something, and went to the father, and talked with him ; and I find he had been a servant in my cozen Pepys's house, and told me what was become of their old servants. He did content himself mightily in my liking his boy's reading, and did bless God for him, the most like one of the old patriarchs that ever I saw in my life, and it brought those thoughts of the old age of the world in my mind for two or three days after. We took notice of his woolen knit stockings of two colours mixed, and of his shoes shod with iron, both at the toe and heels, and with great nails in the soles of his feet, which was mighty pretty : and, taking notice of them, "Why," says the poor man, "the downes, you see, are full of stones, and we are faine to shoe ourselves thus ; and these," says he, "will make the stones fly till they ring before me." I did give the poor man something, for which he was mighty thankful, and I tried to cast stones with his horne crooke. He values his dog mightily, that would turn a sheep any way which he would have him, when he goes to fold them : told me there was about eighteen score sheep in his flock, and that he hath four shillings a week the year round for keeping of them : and Mrs. Turner, in the common

fields here, did gather one of the prettiest nosegays that ever I saw in my life. So to our coach, and through Mrs. Minnes's wood, and looked upon Mr. Evelyn's house; and so over the common, and through Epsom towne to our inne, in the way stopping a poor woman with her milk-pail, and in one of my gilt tumblers did drink our bellyfulls of milk, better than any creame; and so to our inne, and there had a dish of creame, but it was sour, and so had no pleasure in it; and so paid our reckoning, and took coach, it being about seven at night, and passed and saw the people walking with their wives and children to take the ayre, and we set out for home, the sun by and by going down, and we in the cool of the evening all the way with much pleasure home, talking and pleasing ourselves with the pleasure of this day's work. Mrs. Turner mightily pleased with my resolution, which, I tell her, is never to keep a country-house, but to keep a coach, and with my wife on the Saturday to go sometimes for a day to this place, and then quit to another place; and there is more variety and as little charge, and no trouble, as there is in a country-house. Anon it grew dark, and we had the pleasure to see several glow-wormes, which was mighty pretty, but my foot begins more and more to pain me, which Mrs. Turner, by keeping her warm hand upon it, did much ease; but so that when we come home, which was just at eleven at night, I was not able to walk from the lane's end to my house without being helped. So to bed, and there had a cere-cloth laid to my foot, but in great pain all night long.

15th. I was not able to go to-day to wait on the Duke of York with my fellows, but was forced in bed to write the particulars for their discourse there. Anon comes Mrs. Turner, and new-dressed my foot, and did it so, that I was at much ease presently. Our

poor Jane very sad for the death of her poor brother, who hath left a wife and two small children. I did give her 20s. in money, and what wine she needed, for the burying him.

16th. To the Office without pain, and there sat all the morning.

17th. Home, where I am saluted with the news of Hogg's bringing a rich Canary prize to Hull : and Sir W. Batten do offer me 1,000*l.* down for my particular share, beside Sir Richard Ford's part, which do tempt me ; but yet I would not take it, but will stand and fall with the company. He and two more, the Panther and Fanfan, did enter into consortship ; and so they have all brought in each a prize, though our's worth as much as both their's, and more. However, it will be well worth having, God be thanked for it ! This news makes us all very glad. I at Sir W. Batten's did hear the particulars of it ; and there for joy he did give the company that were there a bottle or two of his own last year's wine, growing at Walthamstow, than which the whole company said they never drank better foreign wine in their lives. The Duke of Buckingham is, it seems, set at liberty, without any further charge against him or other clearing of him, but let to go out ; which is one of the strangest instances of the fool's play with which all publick things are done in this age, that is to be apprehended. And it is said that when he was charged with making himself popular—as indeed he is, for many of the discontented Parliament, Sir Robert Howard, and Sir Thomas Meres, and others, did attend at the Council-chamber when he was examined—he should answer, that whoever was committed to prison by my Lord Chancellor or my Lord Arlington, could not want being popular. But it is worth considering the ill state a Minister of State is in, under such a Prince as our's is ; for, undoubtedly, neither of those two

great men would have been so fierce against the Duke of Buckingham at the Council-table the other day, had they not been assured of the King's good liking, and supporting them therein: whereas, perhaps at the desire of my Lady Castlemaine, who, I suppose, hath at last overcome the King, the Duke of Buckingham is well received again, and now these men delivered up to the interest he can make for his revenge. He told me over the story of Mrs. Stewart, much after the manner which I was told it by Mr. Evelyn; only he says it is verily believed that the King did never intend to marry her to any but himself, and that the Duke of York and Lord Chancellor were jealous of it; and that Mrs. Stewart might be got with child by the King, or somebody else, and the King own a marriage before his contract, for it is but a contract, as he tells me, to this day, with the Queen, and so wipe their noses of the Crown; and that, therefore, the Duke of York and Chancellor did do all they could to forward the match with my Lord Duke of Richmond, that she might be married out of the way; but, above all, it is a worthy part that this good lady hath acted. My sister Michell¹ came from Lee² to see us; but do tattle so much of the late business of the Dutch coming thither that I was weary of it. Yet it is worth remembering what she says: that she hath heard both seamen and soldiers swear they would rather serve the Dutch than the King, for they should be better used.³ She saw "The Royal Charles" brought into the river by them; and how they shot off their great guns for joy, when they

¹ The wife of Balthazar St. Michel, Mrs. Pepys's brother.

² Leigh, opposite to Sheerness.

³ "Our seamen, whom no danger's shape could fright,
Unpay'd, refuse to mount their ships for spite;
Or to their fellows swim on board the Dutch,
Who shew the tempting metal in their clutch."

Andrew Marvel's *Instructions to a Painter*.

got her out of Chatham River. I would not forget that this very day when we had nothing to do almost but five merchantmen to man in the River, which have now been about it some weeks, I was asked at Westminster, what the matter was that there was such ado kept in pressing of men, as it seems there is thereabouts at this day.

18th. To the office, where busy all the morning, and most of our time taken up with Carcasse upon some complaints brought in against him, and many other petitions about tickets lost, which spends most of our time. Very well employed at the office till evening; and then, being weary, took out my wife and Will Batelier by coach to Islington, but no pleasure in our going, the way being so dusty that one durst not breathe. Drank at the old house, and so home.

19th. Up and comes the flageolet master, and brings me two new great Ivory pipes which cost me 32s., and so to play, and he being done, I to Westminster and there did receive 15,000*l.* orders out of the Exchequer in part of a bigger sum upon the 11 months tax for Tangier. So home, and in my way by coach down Mark Lane, mightily pleased and smitten to see, as I thought, in passing, the pretty woman, the line-maker's wife that lived in Fenchurch Streete, and I had great mind to have gone back to have seen, but yet would correct my nature and would not. So to dinner with my wife, and then to sing, and so to the office, where busy all the afternoon late, and to Sir W. Batten's and to Sir R. Ford's, we all to consider about our great prize at Hull, being troubled at our being likely to be troubled with Prince Rupert, by reason of Hogg's consorting himself with two privateers of the Prince's, and so we study how to ease or secure ourselves. One tells me that, by letter from Holland, the people there are made to believe that our condition in England is such as they may

have whatever they will ask; and that so they are mighty high, and despise us, or a peace with us: and there is too much reason for them to do so. The Dutch fleete are in great squadrons everywhere still about Harwich, and were lately at Portsmouth; and the last letters say at Plymouth, and now gone to Dartmouth to destroy our Streights' fleete lately got in thither: but God knows whether they can do it any hurt, or no.

20th. Towards the 'Change, at noon, in my way observing my mistake yesterday in Mark Lane, that the woman I saw was not the pretty woman I meant, the line-maker's wife, but a new-married woman, very pretty, a strong-water seller: and in going by, to my content, I find that the very pretty daughter at the Ship tavern, at the end of Billiter Lane, is there still, and in the bar: and, I believe, is married to him that is new come, and hath new trimmed the house. Home to dinner, and then to the office, we having dispatched away Mr. Oviatt to Hull, about our prizes there; and I have wrote a letter of thanks by him to Lord Bellassis, who had writ to me to offer all his service for my interest there, but I dare not trust him.

21st. (Lord's day.) Up betimes, and all the morning, and then all the afternoon in like manner, in my chamber, making up my Tangier accounts and drawing a letter, which I have done at last to my full content, to present to the Lords Commissioners for Tangier to-morrow; and about 7 o'clock I and my wife and Mercer up by water to Barne Elmes, where we walked by moonshine, and called at Lambeth, and drank and had cold meat in the boat, and did eat, and sang, and down home, by almost twelve at night, very fine and pleasant, only could not sing ordinary songs with the freedom that otherwise I would. Here Mercer tells me that the

pretty maid of the Ship tavern is married there, which I am glad of. So having spent this night, with much serious pleasure to consider that I am in a condition to fling away an angell¹ in such a refreshment to myself and family, we home and to bed, leaving Mercer, by the way, at her own door.

22nd. Up to my Lord Chancellor's, where was a Committee of Tangier in my Lord's roome, where he sits to hear causes, and where all the Judges' pictures hung up,² very fine. Here I read my letter to them, which was well received, and they did fall seriously to discourse the want of money and other particulars, and to some pretty good purpose. But to see how Sir W. Coventry did oppose both my Lord Chancellor and the Duke of York himself, about the Order of the Commissioners of the Treasury to me for not paying of pensions, and with so much reason, and eloquence so natural, was admirable. And another thing, about his pressing for the reduction of the charge of Tangier, which they would have put off to another time; "But," says he, "the King suffers so much by the putting off of the consideration of reductions of charge, that he is undone; and therefore I do pray you, sir," to his Royal Highness, "that when any thing offers of the kind, you will not let it escape you." Here was a great bundle of letters brought hither, sent up from sea, from a vessel of ours that hath taken them after they had been flung over by a Dutchman; wherein, among others, the Duke of York did read the superscription of one to De Witt, thus—"To the most wise, foreseeing and discreet, These, &c.;" which, I thought with myself, I could have been glad might have been duly directed to any one

¹ The ancient English gold coin, of the value of ten shillings.

² See Lady Theresa Lewis's "Lives of the Friends and Contemporaries of Lord Chancellor Clarendon; illustrative of Portraits in his Gallery," 1852. 3 vols. 8vo.

of them at the table, though the greatest men in this kingdom. The Duke of York, the Lord Chancellor, my Lord Duke of Albemarle, Arlington, Ashley, Peterborough, and Coventry, the best of them all for parts, I perceive they do all profess their expectation of a peace, and that suddenly. Sir W. Coventry did declare his opinion that if Tangier were offered us now, as the King's condition is, he would advise against the taking it ; saying, that the King's charge is too great, and must be brought down, it being, like the fire of this City, never to be mastered till you have brought it under you ; and that these places abroad are but so much charge to the King, and we do rather hitherto strive to greaten them than lessen them ; and then the King is forced to part with them, " as," says he, " he did with Dunkirke, by my Lord Teviott's making it so chargeable to the King as he did that, and would have done Tangier, if he had lived." I perceive he is the only man that do seek the King's profit, and is bold to deliver what he thinks on every occasion. With much pleasure reflecting upon our discourse to-day at the Tangier meeting, and crying up the worth of Sir W. Coventry. Creed tells me of the fray between the Duke of Buckingham at the Duke's playhouse the last Saturday, (and it is the first day I have heard that they have acted at either the King's or Duke's houses this month or six weeks) and Henry Killigrew, whom the Duke of Buckingham did soundly beat and take away his sword, and make a fool of, till the fellow prayed him to spare his life ; and I am glad of it ; for it seems in this business the Duke of Buckingham did carry himself very innocently and well, and I wish he had paid this fellow's coat well. I heard something of this at the 'Change to-day : and it is pretty to hear how people do speak kindly of the Duke of Buckingham, as one that will enquire into faults ; and therefore they do mightily

favour him. And it puts me in mind that, this afternoon, Billing, the Quaker, meeting me in the Hall, came to me, and after a little discourse did say, "Well," says he, "now you will be all called to an account;" meaning the Parliament is drawing near.

23rd. To the office, doing something towards our great account to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and anon the office sat, and all the morning doing business. In the evening Sir R. Ford is come back from the Prince and tells Sir W. Batten and me how basely Sir W. Pen received our letter we sent him about the prizes at Hull, and slyly answered him about the Prince's leaving all his concerns to him, but a very rogue he is. By and by comes sudden news to me by letter from the Clerke of the Cheque at Gravesend, that there were thirty sail of Dutch men-of-war coming up into the Hope this last tide: which I told Sir W. Pen of; but he would not believe it, but laughed, and said it was a fleete of Billanders [coasters], and that the guns that were heard was the salutation of the Swede's Ambassador that comes over with them. But within half an hour comes another letter from Captain Proud, that eight of them were come into the Hope, and thirty more following them, at ten this morning. By and by comes an order from White Hall to send down one of our number to Chatham, fearing that, as they did before, they may make a show first up hither, but then go to Chatham: so my Lord Brouncker do go, and we here are ordered to give notice to the merchant men-of-war, gone below the barricado at Woolwich, to come up again.

24th. Betimes this morning comes a letter from the Clerke of the Cheque at Gravesend to me, to tell me that the Dutch fleete did come all into the Hope yesterday noon, and held a fight with our ships from thence till seven at night; that they had burned

twelve fire-ships, and we took one of their's, and burned five of our fire-ships. But then rising and going to Sir W. Batten, he tells me that we have burned one of their men-of-war, and another of their's is blown up: but how true this is, I know not. But these fellows are mighty bold, and have had the fortune of the wind easterly this time to bring them up, and prevent our troubling them with our fire-ships; and, indeed, have had the winds at their command from the beginning, and now do take the beginning of the spring, as if they had some great design to do. I to my office, and there hard at work all the morning, to my great content, abstracting the contract book into my abstract book, which I have by reason of the war omitted for above two years, but now am endeavouring to have all my books ready and perfect against the Parliament comes, that upon examination I may be in condition to value myself upon my perfect doing of my own duty. At noon home to dinner, where my wife mighty musty, but I took no notice of it, but after dinner to the office, and there with Mr. Harper did another good piece of work about my late collection of the accounts of the Navy presented to the Parliament at their session, which was left unfinished, and now I have done it, which sets my mind at my ease, and so, having tired myself, I took a pair of oares about five o'clock down to Gravesend, all the way with extraordinary content reading of Boyle's Hydrostatickes, which the more I read and understand, the more I admire, as a most excellent piece of philosophy; and as we come nearer Gravesend, we hear the Dutch fleete and our's a-firing their guns most distinctly and loud. So I landed, and discoursed with the landlord of the Ship, who undeceives me in what I heard this morning about the Dutch having lost two men-of-war, for it is not so, but several of their fire-ships. He do say, that this

afternoon they did force our ships to retreat, but that now they are gone down as far as Shield-haven :¹ but what the event hath been of this evening's guns they know not, but suppose not much, for they have all this while shot at good distance one from another. They seem confident of the security of this town and the River above it, if the enemy should come up so high ; their fortifications being so good, and guns many. But he do say that people do complain of Sir Edward Spragg, that he hath not done extraordinary ; and more of Sir W. Jenings, that he came up with his tamkins² in his guns. Having eat a bit of cold venison and drank, I away, took boat, and homeward again, with great pleasure, the moon shining, and it being a fine pleasant cool evening, and got home by half-past twelve at night, and so to bed.

25th. At night Sir W. Batten, W. Pen, and myself, and Sir R. Ford, did meet in the garden to discourse about our prizes at Hull. It appears that Hogg is the veriest rogue, the most observable embezzler, that ever was known. This vexes us, and made us very free and plain with Sir W. Pen, who hath been his great patron, and as very a rogue as he. But he do now seem to own that his opinion is changed of him, and that he will joyne with us in our strictest inquiries, and did sign to the letters we had drawn, which he had refused before, and so seemingly parted good friends. I demanded of Sir R. Ford and the rest, what passed to-day at the meeting of Parliament : who told me that, contrary to all expectation by the King that there would be but a thin meeting, there met above 300 this first day, and all the discontented party ; and, indeed, the whole House seems to be

¹ Shellhaven, on the Essex coast, opposite to Cliffe, on the Kentish side.

² Tamkin, or tampion, the stopple of a great gun.

no other almost. The Speaker told them, as soon as they were sat, that he was ordered by the King to let them know he was hindered by some important business to come to them and speak to them, as he intended ; and, therefore, ordered him to move that they would adjourn themselves till Monday next, it being very plain to all the House that he expects to hear by that time of the sealing of the peace, which by letters, it seems, from my Lord Hollis, was to be sealed the last Sunday.¹ But before they would come to the question whether they would adjourn, Sir Thomas Tomkins steps up and tells them, that all the country is grieved at this new-raised standing army ; and that they thought themselves safe enough in their trayn-bands ; and that, therefore, he desired that the King might be moved to disband them. Then rises Garraway and seconds him, only with this explanation, which he said he believed the other meant ; that, as soon as peace should be concluded, they might be disbanded. Then rose Sir W. Coventry, and told them that he did approve of what the last gentleman said ; but also, that at the same time he did no more than what, he durst be bold to say, he knew to be the King's mind, that as soon as peace was concluded he would do it of himself. Then rose Sir Thomas Littleton, and did give several reasons for the uncertainty of their meeting again but to adjourne, in case news comes of the peace being ended before Monday next, and the possibility of the King's having some about him that may endeavour to alter his own, and the good part of his Council's advice, for the keeping up of the land-army ; and, therefore, it was fit that they did present it to the King as their desire, that, as soon as peace was concluded, the land-army might be laid down, and that

¹ The peace was signed on the 31st : see 9th August, *post*.

this their request might be carried to the King by them of their House that were Privy-councillors ; which was put to the vote, and carried *nemine contradicente*. So after this vote passed, they adjourned : but it is plain what the effects of this Parliament will be, if they be suffered to sit, that they will fall foul upon the faults of the Government ; and I pray God they may be permitted to do it, for nothing else, I fear, will save the King and kingdom than the doing it betimes.

26th. No news at all this day what we have done to the enemy, but that the enemy is fallen down, and we after them, but to little purpose.

27th. To the office, where I hear that Sir John Coventry¹ is come over from Bredah, a nephew, I think, of Sir W. Coventry's : but what message he brings I know not. This morning news is come that Sir Jos. Jordan is come from Harwich, with sixteen fire-ships and four other little ships of war : and did attempt to do some execution upon the enemy, but did it without discretion, as most do say, so as they have been able to do no good, but have lost four of their fire-ships. They attempted this, it seems, when the wind was too strong, that our grapplings could not hold : others say we came to leeward of them, but all condemn it as a foolish management. They are come to Sir Edward Spragg about Lee, and the Dutch are below at the Nore. At the office all the morning ; and at noon to the 'Change, where I met Fenn ; and he tells me that Sir John Coventry do bring the confirmation of the peace ; but I do not find the

¹ Created K.B. at Charles II.'s coronation, and M.P. for Weymouth in several Parliaments. He was the son of John Coventry, the eldest brother of Sir W. Coventry ; and the outrage committed on his person, on the 21st December, 1670, by Sir Thomas Sandys, O'Bryan, and others, who cut his nose to the bone, gave rise to the passing of the Bill still known by the name of *The Coventry Act*, under which persons so offending were to suffer death.

'Change at all glad of it, but rather the worse, they looking upon it as a peace made only to preserve the King for a time in his lusts and ease, and to sacrifice trade and his kingdoms only to his own pleasures: so that the hearts of merchants are quite down. He tells me that the King and my Lady Castlemaine are quite broke off, and she is gone away, and is with child, and swears the King shall own it;¹ and she will have it christened in the Chapel at White Hall so, and owned for the King's, as other Kings have done; or she will bring it into White Hall gallery, and dash the brains of it out before the King's face. He tells me that the King and Court were never in the world so bad as they are now for gaming, swearing, women, and drinking, and the most abominable vices that ever were in the world; so that all must come to nought. He told me that Sir G. Carteret was at this end of the town: so I went to visit him in Broad Street; and there he and I together: and he is mightily pleased with my Lady Jem's having a son; and a mighty glad man he is. He [Sir George Carteret] tells me, as to news, that the peace is now confirmed, and all that over. He says it was a very unhappy motion in the House the other day about the land-army; for, whether the King hath a mind of his own to do the thing desired or no, his doing it will be looked upon as a thing done only in fear of the Parliament. He says that the Duke of York is suspected to be the great man that is for raising of this army, and bringing things to be commanded by an army; but that he do know that he is wronged therein. He do say that the Court is in a way to

¹ Charles owned only four children by Lady Castlemaine—Anne, Countess of Sussex, and the Dukes of Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland. The last of these was born in 1665. The paternity of all her other children was certainly doubtful. See 30th July, *post*.

ruin all for their pleasures ; and says that he himself hath once taken the liberty to tell the King the necessity of having, at least, a show of religion in the Government, and sobriety ; and that it was that, that did set up and keep up Oliver, though he was the greatest rogue in the world, and that it is so fixed in the nature of the common Englishman that it will not out of him. He tells me that while all should be labouring to settle the kingdom, they are at Court all in factions, some for and others against my Lord Chancellor, and another for and against another man, and the King adheres to no man, but this day delivers himself up to this, and the next to that, to the ruin of himself and business ; that he is at the command of any woman like a slave, though he be the best man to the Queen in the world, with so much respect, and never lies a night from her : but yet cannot command himself in the presence of a woman he likes. It raining this day all day to our great joy, it having not rained, I think, this month before, so as the ground was everywhere so burned and dry as could be ; and no travelling in the road or streets in London, for dust.

28th. All the morning close, to draw up a letter to Sir W. Coventry upon the tidings of peace, taking occasion, before I am forced to it, to resign up to his Royall Highness my place of the Victualling, and to recommend myself to him by promise of doing my utmost to improve this peace in the best manner we may, to save the kingdom from ruin.

29th. Up, and with Sir W. Batten to St. James's, to Sir W. Coventry's chamber ; where, among other things, he came to me, and told me that he had received my yesterday's letters, and that we concurred very well in our notions ; and that, as to my place which I had offered to resign of the Victualling, he had drawn up a letter at the same time for the

Duke of York's signing for the like places in general raised during this war ; and that he had done me right to the Duke of York, to let him know that I had, of my own accord, offered to resign mine. The letter do bid us to do all things, particularizing several, for the laying up of the ships, and easing the King of charge ; so that the war is now professedly over. By and by up to the Duke of York's chamber ; and there all the talk was about Jordan's coming with so much indiscretion, with his four little frigates and sixteen fire-ships from Harwich, to annoy the enemy. His failures were of several sorts, I know not which the truest : that he came with so strong a gale of wind, that his grapplings would not hold ; that he did come by their lee ; whereas if he had come athwart their hawse, they would have held ; that they did not stop a tide, and come up with a windward tide, and then they would not have come so fast. Now, there happened to be Captain Jenifer by, who commanded the Lily in this business, and thus says : that, finding the Dutch not so many as they expected, they did not know that there were more of them above, and so were not so earnest to the setting upon these ; that they did do what they could to make the fire-ships fall in among the enemy ; and, for their lives, neither Sir J. Jordan nor others could, by shooting several times at them, make them go in ; and it seems they were commanded by some idle fellows, such as they could of a sudden gather up at Harwich ; which is a sad consideration that, at such a time as this, where the saving the reputation of the whole nation lay at stake, and after so long a war, the King had not credit to gather a few able men to command these vessels. He says, that if they had come up slower, the enemy would, with their boats and their great sloops, which they have to row with a great many men, and did, come and cut up several of our fire-ships, and would

certainly have taken most of them, for they do come with a great provision of these boats on purpose, and to save their men, which is bravely done of them, though they did, on this very occasion, show great fear, as they say, by some men leaping overboard out of a great ship, as these were all of them of sixty and seventy guns a-piece, which one of our fire-ships laid on board, though the fire did not take. But yet it is brave to see what care they do take to encourage their men to provide great stores of boats to save them, while we have not credit to find one boat for a ship. And, further, he told us that this new way used by Deane, and this Sir W. Coventry observed several times, of preparing of fire-ships, do not do the work; for the fire, not being strong and quick enough to flame up, so as to take the rigging and sails, lies smothering a great while, half an hour before it flames, in which time they can get the fire-ship off safely, though, which is uncertain, and did fail in one or two this bout, it do serve to burn our own ships. But what a shame it is to consider how two of our ships' companies did desert their ships for fear of being taken by their boats, our little frigates being forced to leave them, being chased by their greater! And one more company did set their ship on fire, and leave her; which afterwards a Feversham fisherman came up to, and put out the fire, and carried safe into Feversham, where she now is, which was observed by the Duke of York, and all the company with him, that it was only want of courage, and a general dismay and abjectness of spirit upon all our men; and others did observe our ill management, and God Almighty's curse upon all that we have in hand, for never such an opportunity was of destroying so many good ships of their's as we now had. But to see how negligent we were in this business, that our fleete of Jordan's should not have any notice where Spragg was, nor

Spragg of Jordan's, so as to be able to meet and join in the business, and help one another ; but Jordan, when he saw Spragg's fleete above, did think them to be another part of the enemy's fleete ! While, on the other side, notwithstanding our people at Court made such a secret of Jordan's design that nobody must know it, and even this Office itself must not know it ; nor for my part I did not, though Sir W. Batten says by others' discourse to him he had heard something of it ; yet De Ruyter, or he that commanded this fleete, had notice of it, and told it to a fisherman of our's that he took and released on Thursday last, which was the day before our fleete came to him. But then, that, that seems most to our disgrace, and which the Duke of York did take special and vehement notice of, is, that when the Dutch saw so many fire-ships provided for them, themselves lying, I think, about the Nore, they did with all their great ships, with a North-east wind, as I take it they said, but whatever it was, it was a wind that we should not have done it with, turn down to the Middle-ground ; which the Duke of York observed, never was nor would have been undertaken by ourselves. And whereas some of the company answered, it was their great fear, not their choice that made them do it, the Duke of York answered, that it was, it may be, their fear and wisdom that made them do it ; but yet their fear did not make them mistake, as we should have done, when we have had no fear upon us, and have run our ships on ground. And this brought it into my mind, that they managed their retreat down this difficult passage, with all their fear, better than we could do ourselves in the main sea, when the Duke of Albemarle ran away from the Dutch, when the Prince was lost, and the Royal Charles and the other great ships came on ground upon the Galloper. Thus, in all things, in wisdom, courage, force, knowledge of

our own streams, and success, the Dutch have the best of us, and do end the war with victory on their side. The Duke of York being ready, we into his closet, but, being in haste to go to the Parliament House, he could not stay. So we parted, and to Westminster Hall, where the Hall full of people to see the issue of the day, the King being come to speak to the House to-day. One thing extraordinary was, this day a man, a Quaker,¹ came naked through the Hall, only very civilly tied about the loins to avoid scandal, and with a chafing-dish of fire and brimstone burning upon his head, did pass through the Hall, crying, "Repent! repent!" Presently comes down the House of Commons, the King having made then a very short and no pleasing speech to them at all, not at all giving them thanks for their readiness to come up to town this busy time; but told them that he did think he should have had occasion for them, but had none, and therefore did dismiss them to look after their own occasions till October; and that he did wonder any should offer to bring in a suspicion that he intended to rule by an army, or otherwise than by the laws of the land, which he promised them

¹ In De Foe's fabulous "History of the Plague" 1665, he imagines a like case:—"Another ran about naked, except a pair of drawers about his waist, crying day and night, like a man that Josephus mentions, who cried, *Woe to Jerusalem!* a little before the destruction of that city. So this poor naked creature cried, *O, the great and the dreadful God!* and said no more, but repeated those words continually, with a voice and countenance full of horror, a swift pace, and nobody could ever find him to stop, or rest, or take any sustenance, at least that ever I could hear of. I met this poor creature several times in the streets, and would have spoke to him, but he would not enter into speech with me or any one else; but held on his dismal cries continually."—p. 26. A good picture on this subject, painted by Mr. P. F. Poole, was exhibited by the Royal Academy, where the name of the enthusiast was given as Solomon Eagle, in 1843. It was engraved in the "Illustrated London News" for that year, p. 399. De Foe had probably heard of the Quaker.

he would do ; and so bade them go home and settle the minds of the country in that particular ; and only added, that he had made a peace which he did believe they would find reasonable, and a good peace, but did give them none of the particulars thereof. Thus they are dismissed again to their general great distaste, I believe the greatest that ever Parliament was, to see themselves so fooled, and the nation in certain condition of ruin, while the King, they see, is only governed by his lust, and women, and rogues about him. The Speaker, they found, was kept from coming in the morning to the House on purpose, till after the King was come to the House of Lords, for fear they should be doing anything in the House of Commons to the further dissatisfaction of the King and his courtiers. They do all give up the kingdom for lost that I speak to ; and do hear what the King says, how he and the Duke of York do do what they can to get up an army, that they may need no more Parliaments : and how my Lady Castlemaine hath, before the late breach between her and the King, said to the King that he must rule by an army, or all would be lost, and that Bab. May hath given the like advice to the King, to crush the English gentlemen, saying that 300*l.* a-year was enough for any man but them that lived at Court. I am told that many petitions were provided for the Parliament, complaining of the wrongs they have received from the Court and courtiers, in city and country, if the Parliament had but sat : and I do perceive they all do resolve to have a good account of the money spent before ever they give a farthing more ; and the whole kingdom is everywhere sensible of their being abused, insomuch that they forced their Parliament-men to come up to sit ; and my cozen Roger told me that, but that was in mirth, he believed, if he had not come up, he should have had his house burned. The kingdom never in

so troubled a condition in this world as now; nobody pleased with the peace, and yet nobody daring wish for the continuance of the war, it being plain that nothing do or can thrive under us. Here I saw old good Mr. Vaughan,¹ and several of the great men of the Commons, and some of them old men, that are come 200 miles, and more, to attend this session of Parliament; and have been at great charge and disappointments in their other private business; and now all to no purpose, neither to serve their country, content themselves, nor receive any thanks from the King. It is verily expected by many of them that the King will continue the prorogation in October, so as, if it be possible, never to have this Parliament more. My Lord Bristoll took his place in the House of Lords this day, but not in his robes; and when the King came in, he withdrew: but my Lord of Buckingham was there as brisk as ever, and sat in his robes; which is a monstrous thing, that a man should be proclaimed against, and put in the Tower, and released without any trial, and yet not restored to his places. But, above all, I saw my Lord Mordaunt as merry as the best, that it seems hath done such further indignities to Mr. Taylor² since the last sitting of Parliament as would hang him, if there were nothing else, would the King do what were fit for him; but nothing of that is now likely to be. After having spent an hour or two in the hall, my cozen Roger and I and Creed to the Old Exchange, where I find all the merchants sad at this peace and breaking up of the Parliament, as men despairing of any good to the nation, which is a grievous consideration; and so home. Cozen Roger and Creed to dinner with me, and very merry: but among other things they told me of the strange, bold sermon of Dr. Creeton yesterday, before the

¹ John Vaughan, M.P. for Cardiganshire.

² See November 26, 1666, *ante*.

King; how he preached against the sins of the Court, and particularly against adultery, over and over instancing how for that single sin in David, the whole nation was undone; and of our negligence in having our castles without ammunition and powder when the Dutch came upon us; and how we have no courage now-a-days, but let our ships be taken out of our harbour. Here Creed did tell us the story of the duell last night, in Covent-garden, between Sir H. Bellassis and Tom Porter. It is worth remembering the silliness of the quarrell, and is a kind of emblem of the general complexion of this whole kingdom at present. They two dined yesterday at Sir Robert Carr's,¹ where it seems people do drink high, all that come. It happened that these two, the greatest friends in the world, were talking together: and Sir H. Bellassis talked a little louder than ordinary to Tom Porter, giving of him some advice. Some of the company standing by said, "What! are they quarrelling, that they talk so high?" Sir H. Bellassis hearing it, said, "No!" says he: "I would have you know that I never quarrel, but I strike; and take that as a rule of mine!" "How?" says Tom Porter, "strike! I would I could see the man in England that durst give me a blow!" with that Sir H. Bellassis did give him a box of the eare; and so they were going to fight there, but were hindered. And by and by Tom Porter went out; and meeting Dryden the poet, told him of the business, and that he was resolved to fight Sir H. Bellassis presently; for he knew, if he did not, they should be friends tomorrow, and then the blow would rest upon him; which he would prevent, and desired Dryden to let him have his boy to bring him notice which way Sir H. Bellassis goes. By and by he is informed that

¹ Baronet, of Sleaford, Lincolnshire, and one of the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak for that county.

Sir H. Bellassis's coach was coming: so Tom Porter went out of the Coffee-house where he staid for the tidings, and stopped the coach, and bade Sir H. Bellassis come out. "Why," says H. Bellassis, "you will not hurt me coming out, will you?"—"No," says Tom Porter. So out he went, and both drew: and H. Bellassis having drawn and flung away his scabbard, Tom Porter asked him whether he was ready? The other answering him he was, they fell to fight, some of their acquaintance by. They wounded one another, and H. Bellassis so much that it is feared he will die: and finding himself severely wounded, he called to Tom Porter, and kissed him, and bade him shift for himself; "for," says he, "Tom, thou hast hurt me; but I will make shift to stand upon my legs till thou mayest withdraw, and the world not take notice of you, for I would not have thee troubled for what thou hast done." And so whether he did fly or no I cannot tell: but Tom Porter showed H. Bellassis that he was wounded too: and they are both ill, but H. Bellassis to fear of life. And this is a fine example; and H. Bellassis a Parliament-man,¹ too, and both of them extraordinary friends! Among other discourse, my cozen Roger told us a thing certain, that the Archbishop of Canterbury,² that now is, do keep a wench, and that he is as very a wench as can be; and tells us it is a thing publickly known that Sir Charles Sedley had got away one of the Archbishop's wenches from him, and the Archbishop sent to him to let him know that she was his kinswoman, and did wonder that he would offer any dishonour to one related to him. To which Sir Charles Sedley is said to answer, "Pray, tell his Grace that I believe he finds himself too old, and is afraid that I should outdo him among his girls, and spoil his trade."

¹ He was serving for Grimsby.

² Gilbert Sheldon.

But he makes no more of doubt to say that the Archbishop is a wench, and known to be so, which is one of the most astonishing things that I have heard of, unless it be, what for certain he says is true, that my Lady Castlemaine hath made a Bishop lately, namely, her uncle, Dr. Glenham,¹ who, I think they say, is Bishop of Carlisle; a drunken, swearing rascal, and a scandal to the Church; and do now pretend to be Bishop of Lincoln,² in competition with Dr. Raynbow,³ who is reckoned as worthy a man as most in the Church for piety and learning: which are things so scandalous to consider, that no man can doubt but we must be undone that hears of them. Cozen Roger did acquaint me in private with an offer made of his marrying of Mrs. Elizabeth Wiles, whom I know; a kinswoman of Mr. Honiwood's, an ugly old maid, but a good housewife, and is said to have 2,500*l.* to her portion; but if I can find that she hath but 2,000*l.*, which he prays me to examine, he says he will have her, she being one he hath long known intimately, and a good housewife, and discreet woman; though I am against it in my heart, she being not handsome at all: and it hath been the very bad fortune of the Pepyses that ever I knew, never to marry an handsome woman, excepting Ned Pepys.⁴ To White Hall; and looking out of the window into the garden, I saw the King, whom I have not had any desire to

¹ Henry Glenham, D.D., was Dean of Bristol in 1661; but he never was raised to the Bench.

² Lincoln was vacant by the translation of Benjamin Laney to Ely, on the 24th of May, previously. William Fuller, Bishop of Limerick, was made Bishop of Lincoln on the 17th September following.

³ Dr. Edward Rainbow was Bishop of Carlisle from 1664 to 1684.

⁴ Edward Pepys, of Broomsthorpe who married Elizabeth Walpole. The author's own wife could not be included amongst the plain women whom the Pepyses married?—it is otherwise well for his domestic peace that he wrote in cipher.

see since the Dutch came upon the coast first to Sheerness, for shame that I should see him, or he me, methinks, after such a dishonour, come upon the garden; with him two or three idle Lords; and instantly after him, in another walk, my Lady Castlemaine, led by Bab. May: at which I was surprised, having but newly heard the stories of the King and her being parted for ever. So I took Mr. Povy, who was there, aside, and he told me all,—how imperious this woman is, and hectors the King to whatever she will. It seems she is with child, and the King says he did not get it: with that she made a slighting puh with her mouth, and went out of the house, and never came in again till the King went to Sir Daniel Harvy's to pray her; and so she is come to-day, when one would think his mind should be full of some other cares, having but this morning broken up such a Parliament, with so much discontent, and so many wants upon him, and but yesterday heard such a sermon against adultery. But it seems she hath told the King, that whoever did get it, he should own it; and the bottom of the quarrel is this:—She is fallen in love with young Jermin,¹ who hath of late been with her oftener than the King, and is now going to marry my Lady Falmouth;² the King is mad at her entertaining Jermin, and she is mad at Jermin's going to marry from her: so they are all mad; and thus the kingdom is governed! But he tells me for certain that nothing is more sure than that the King, and Duke of York, and the Chancellor, are desirous and labouring all they can to get an army, whatever the King says to the Parliament; and he believes that they are at last resolved to stand and fall all

¹ Henry Jermyn, afterwards Earl of Dover; from whom Dover Street, Piccadilly, derives its name.

² Lady Falmouth remarried Charles Lord Buckhurst, afterwards the sixth Earl of Dorset.

three together : so that he says in terms that the match of the Duke of York with the Chancellor's daughter hath undone the nation. He tells me also that the King hath not greater enemies in the world than those of his own family ; for there is not an officer in the house almost but curses him for letting them starve, and there is not a farthing of money to be raised for the buying them bread. To walk in the garden with my wife, telling her of my losing 300%. a year by my place that I am to part with, which do a little trouble me, but we must live with somewhat more thrift. Many guns were heard this afternoon, it seems, at White Hall and in the Temple garden very plain ; but what it should be nobody knows, unless the Dutch be driving our ships up the river. To-morrow we shall know.

30th. Up and to the Office, where we sat busy all the morning. At noon to dinner, where Daniel and his wife with me to see whether I could get him any employment. But I am so far from it, that I have the trouble upon my mind how to dispose of Mr. Gibson and one or two more I am concerned for in the Victualling business, which are now to be discharged. So to White Hall, to the Treasury-chamber, where I did speak with the Lords, and did my business about getting them to assent to 10 per cent. interest on the 11 months tax, but find them mightily put to it for money. Here I do hear that there are three Lords more to be added to them ; my Lord Bridgewater, my Lord Anglesey, and my Lord Chamberlaine.¹ Thence with Creed to White Hall ; in our way, meeting with Mr. Cooling, my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, on horseback, who stopped to speak with us, and he proved very drunk, and did talk, and would have talked all night with us, I not

¹ Earl of Manchester.

being able to break loose from him, he holding me so by the hand. But, Lord! to see his present humour, how he swears at every word, and talks of the King and my Lady Castlemaine in the plainest words in the world. And from him I gather that the story I learned yesterday is true—that the King hath declared that he did not get the child of which she is conceived at this time. But she told him, “G—d—n me, but you shall own it!”¹ It seems, he is jealous of Jermin, and she loves him so, that the thoughts of his marrying of my Lady Falmouth puts her into fits of the mother; and he, it seems, hath been in her good graces from time to time, continually, for a good while; and once, as this Cooling says, the King had like to have taken him a-bed with her, but that he was fain to creep under the bed into her closet. Mr. Cooling told us how the King, once speaking of the Duke of York’s being mastered by his wife, said to some of the company by, that he would go no more abroad with this Tom Otter,² meaning the Duke of York, and his wife. Tom Killigrew, being by, said, “Sir, pray which is the best for a man, to be a Tom Otter to his wife or to his mistress?” meaning the King’s being so to my Lady Castlemaine. Thus he went on; and speaking then of my Lord Sandwich, whom he professed to love exceedingly, says Creed, “I know not what, but he is a man, methinks, that I could love for himself, without other regards.” He talked very lewdly; and then took notice of my kindness to him on ship-board seven years ago, when the King was coming over, and how much he was obliged to me; but says, pray look upon

¹ See 27th July, *ante*.

² In the play of “Epicene, or the Silent Woman,” Mrs. Otter thus addresses her henpecked husband, *Thomas Otter*—“Is this according to the instrument when I married you, that I would be princess and reign in my own house, and you would be my subject, and obey me?”—Act. iii. scene 1.

this acknowledgement of a kindness in me to be a miracle ; for, says he, " it is against the law at Court for a man that borrows money of me, even to buy his place with, to own it the next Sunday ;" and then told us his horse was a bribe, and his boots a bribe ; and told us he was made up of bribes, as an Oxford scholar is set out with other men's goods when he goes out of town, and that he makes every sort of tradesman to bribe him ; and invited me home to his house, to taste of his bribe wine.¹ I never heard so much vanity from a man in my life ; so, being now weary of him, we parted, and I took coach, and carried Creed to the Temple. There set him down, and to my office, till my eyes begun to ake, and then home to supper : a pullet, with good sauce, to my liking, and then to play on the flageolet with my wife, which she now does very prettily, and so to bed.

31st. Among other things, did examine a fellow of our private man-of-war, who we have found come up from Hull, with near 500*l.* worth of pieces of eight, though he will confess but 100 pieces. But it appears that there have been fine doings there. Major Halsey, speaking much of my doing business, and understanding business, told me how my Lord Generall do say that I am worth them all. To Marrowbone,² where my Lord Mayor and Aldermen, it seems, dined to-day : and were just now going away, methought, in a disconsolate condition, compared with their splendour they formerly had, when the City was standing.

August 1st. Dined at Sir W. Pen's, only with Mrs. Turner and her husband, on a venison pasty, that stunk like a devil. However, I did not know

¹ " Divide me like a bribe-buck, each a haunch."—*Merry Wives of Windsor*.

² To the Lord Mayor's Banqueting House ; on the site of what is Stratford Place, Oxford Street.

it till dinner was done. We had nothing but only this, and a leg of mutton, and a pullet or two. Mrs. Markham was here, with her great belly. I was very merry, and after dinner, upon a motion of the women, I was got to go to the play with them—the first I have seen since before the Dutch coming upon our coast, and so to the King's house, to see "The Custome of the Country." The house mighty empty—more than ever I saw it—and an ill play. After the play, we into the house, and spoke with Knipp, who went abroad with us by coach to the Neat Houses¹ in the way to Chelsy; and there, in a box in a tree,² we sat and sang, and talked and eat; my wife out of humour, as she always is, when this woman is by. So, after it was dark, we home. Set Knipp down at home, who told us the story how Nell is gone from the King's house, and is kept by my Lord Buckhurst. Home, the gates of the City shut, it being so late: and at Newgate we find them in trouble, some thieves having this night broke open prison. So we through, and home; and our coachman was fain to drive hard from two or three fellows, which he said were rogues, that he met at the end of

¹ The site of the "neat-houses" is described in a grant in the Clause Rolls, 28 Henry VIII., as the "Manor of Neyte, with the precinct of water called the Mote of the said manor." John, fifth son of Richard Duke of York, was born at the Manor House of Neyte, November 7, 1448. King Edward VI., on June 28, 1 Edward VI., granted the "House of Neate" to Sir Anthony Brown.—WALCOTT'S *Westminster*, 338. Stow's Continuator describes this place as "a parcel of houses taken up by gardeners for planting of asparagus," &c. They seem to have been situated at or near Millbank. The "neat-houses" is still the name of the market gardens in that neighbourhood.

² Within the hollow of the trunk of Sir Philip Sidney's oak at Penshurst, celebrated by several of our poets, was a seat which contained five or six persons with ease and convenience. Pepys probably means a summer-house erected in the branches. A few years since one existed near Beckenham, in Kent.

Blow-bladder Street, next Cheapside. So set Mrs. Turner home, and then we home, and I to the Office a little; and so home and to bed, my wife in an ill humour still.

2nd. Up, and before I rose my wife fell into angry discourse of my kindness yesterday to Mrs. Knipp, and in some bad words reproached me with it. I was troubled, but having much business in my head and desirous of peace rose and did not provoke her. So she up and came to me and spoke basely of my father, who I perceive did do something in the country, at her last being there, that did not like her, but I would not enquire into anything, but let her talk, and when ready away to the Office, where Mr. Gauden came to me, and he and I home to my chamber, and there reckoned, and I received my profits for Tangier of him, and 250*l.* on my victualling score. He is a most noble-minded man as ever I met with, and seems to own himself much obliged to me, which I will labour to make him; for he is a good man also: and, in fine, I had much matter of joy by this morning's work, receiving above 400*l.* of him, on one account or other; and a promise that, though I lay down my victualling place, yet, as long as he continues victualler, I shall be the better by him.

3rd. To the Office, there to enable myself, by finishing our great account, to give it to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury; which I did, and there was called in to them, to tell them only the total of our debt of the Navy on the 25th of May last, which is above 950,000*l.* Here I find them mighty hot in their answer to the Council-board about our Treasurer's threepences of the Victualling, and also against the present farm of the Customes, which they do most highly inveigh against.

4th. (Lord's day.) Busy at my Office from morn-

ing till night, in writing with my own hand fair our large general account of the expence and debt of the Navy, which lasted me till midnight to do, that I was almost blind.

5th. To St. James's, where we did our ordinary business with the Duke of York, where I perceive they have taken the highest resolution in the world to become good husbands, and to retrench all charge; and to that end we are commanded to give him an account of the establishment in the seventh year of the late King's reign, and how offices and salaries had been increased since; and I hope it will end in the taking away some of our Commissioners. After done with the Duke of York, and coming out through his dressing-room, I there spied Signor Francisco tuning his gittar, and Monsieur de Puy with him, who did make him play to me, which he did most admirably—so well that I was mightily troubled that all that pains should have been taken upon so bad an instrument. I hear the ill news of our loss lately of four rich ships, two from Guinea, one from Gallipoly, all with rich oyles; and the other from Barbadoes, worth, as is guessed, 80,000/. But here is strong talk, as if Harman had taken some of the Dutch East India ships, but I dare not yet believe it, and brought them into Lisbon. Home, and dined with my wife at Sir W. Pen's, where a very good pasty of venison, better than we expected, the last stinking basely, and after dinner he and my wife and I to the Duke of York's house, and there saw "Love's Trickes, or the School of Compliments;"¹ a silly play, only Miss Davis's dancing in a shepherd's clothes did please us mightily. Thence without much pleasure home and to my Office. My wife mightily angry with Nell, who is turned out a very

¹ A comedy, by James Shirley.

gossip, and gads abroad as soon as our backs are turned, and will put her away to-morrow, which I am not sorry for.

6th. A full Board. Here, talking of news, my Lord Anglesey did tell us that the Dutch do make a further bogle with us about two or three things, which they will be satisfied in, he says, by us easily ; but only in one, it seems, they do demand that we shall not interrupt their East Indiamen coming home, and of which they are in some fear ; and we are full of hopes that we have light upon some of them, and carried them into Lisbon, by Harman ; which God send ! But they, which do show the low esteem they have of us, have the confidence to demand that we shall have a cessation on our parts, and yet they at liberty to take what they will ; which is such an affront, as another cannot be devised greater. At noon home to dinner, where I find Mrs. Wood, formerly Bab. Sheldon, and our Mercer, who is dressed to-day in a paysan dress, that looks mighty pretty. We dined and sang and laughed mighty merry, and then I to the Office, only met at the door with Mrs. Martin and Mrs. Burroughs, who I took in and drank with, but was afeard my wife should see them, they being, especially the first, tattling gossips, and so after drinking with them parted, and I to the Office, busy as long as my poor eyes would endure, which troubles me mightily. My wife, as she said last night, hath put away Nell to-day, for her gossiping abroad and telling of stories. Sir W. Batten did tell me to-night that the Council have ordered a hearing before them of Carcasse's business, which do vex me mightily, that we should be troubled so much by an idle rogue, a servant of our own, and all my thoughts to-night have been how to manage the matter before the Council.

7th. My wife abroad with her maid Jane and Tom

all the afternoon, being gone forth to eat some pasties at "The Bottle of Hay," in John's Street, as you go to Islington, of which she is mighty fond, and I dined at home alone. Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, tells me that though the King and my Lady Castlemaine are friends again, she is not at White Hall, but at Sir D. Harvy's, whither the King goes to her; but he says she made him ask her forgiveness upon his knees, and promise to offend her no more so: and that, indeed, she did threaten to bring all his bastards to his closet-door, and hath nearly hectored him out of his wits.

8th. Sir Henry Bellassis is dead of the duell he fought about ten days ago, with Tom Porter; and it is pretty to see how the world do talk of them as a couple of fools, that killed one another out of love. I to my bookseller's; where, by and by, I met Mr. Evelyn, and talked of several things, but particularly of the times: and he tells me that wise men do prepare to remove abroad what they have, for that we must be ruined, our case being past relief, the kingdom so much in debt, and the King minding nothing but his lust, going two days a-week to see my Lady Castlemaine at Sir D. Harvy's. I met with Mr. Moore, who tells me that my Lord Hinchinbroke is now with his mistress, but that he is not married, as W. Howe came and told us the other day. To White Hall, and so took up my wife: and as far as Bow, where we staid and drank, and there, passing by Mr. Lowther and his lady, they stopped: and we talked a little with them, they being in their gilt coach. Presently came to us Mr. Andrews, whom I had not seen a good while, who, as other merchants do, do all give over any hopes of things doing well, and so he spends his time here most, playing at bowles. After dining together at the coach-side, we with great pleasure home.

9th. To Westminster, to Mr. Burges, and he and I talked, and he do really declare that he expects that of necessity this kingdom will fall back again to a commonwealth, and other wise men are of the same mind : this family doing all that silly men can do, to make themselves unable to support their kingdom, minding their lust and their pleasure, and making their government so chargeable, that people do well remember better things were done, and better managed, and with much less charge under a commonwealth than they have been by this King. Home, and find Mr. Goodgroome,¹ my wife's singing-master. There I did soundly rattle him for neglecting her so much as he has done—she not having learned three songs these three months and more. To St. James's, and there met Sir W. Coventry; and he and I walked in the Park an hour. And then to his chamber, where he read to me the heads of the late great dispute between him and the rest of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and our new Treasurer of the Navy: where they have overthrown him the last Wednesday, in the great dispute touching his having the payment of the Victualler, which is now settled by Council that he is not to have it: and, indeed, they have been most just, as well as most severe and bold, in the doing this against a man of his quality; but I perceive Sir W. Coventry does really make no difference between any man. He tells me this day it is supposed the peace is ratified at Bredah,² and all that matter over. We did talk of many retrenchments of

¹ See December 17, 1666, *ante*.

² The peace was signed at Breda, on the 31st July. There were three separate acts, or instruments—the first, between France and England, by which D'Estrades and Courtin agreed that all conquests made during the war should be mutually restored; the second, between England and Denmark; the third, between England and Holland. In this last it is to be observed that England retained the right of the flag.

charge of the Navy which he will put in practice, and every where else ; though, he tells me, he despairs of being able to do what ought to be done for the saving of the kingdom, which I tell him, indeed, all the world is almost in hopes of, upon the proceeding of these gentlemen for the regulating of the Treasury, it being so late, and our poverty grown so great, that they want where to set their feet, to begin to do any thing. He tells me how weary he hath for this year and a half been of the war ; and how in the Duke of York's bedchamber, at Christ Church, at Oxford, when the Court was there, he did labour to persuade the Duke to fling off the care of the Navy, and get it committed to other hands ; which, if he had done, would have been much to his honour, being just come home with so much honour from sea as he was. I took notice of the sharp letter he wrote, which he sent us to read yesterday, to Sir Edward Spragg, where he is very plain about his leaving his charge of the ships at Gravesend, when the enemy came last up, and several other things : a copy whereof I have kept. But it is done like a most worthy man ; and he says it is good, now and then, to tell these gentlemen their duties, for they need it. And it seems, as he tells me, all our Knights are fallen out one with another, he, and Jenings, and Hollis, and, his words were, they are disputing which is the coward among them ; and yet men that take the greatest liberty of censuring others ! Here, with him, very late, till I could hardly get a coach or link willing to go through the ruines ; but I do, but I will not do it again, being, indeed, very dangerous.

10th. To the Office, and there finished the letter about Carcassee, and sent it away, I think well writ, though it troubles me we should be put to trouble by the rogue so much. At noon to dinner, where I sang and piped with my wife with great pleasure. Then

abroad and to the New Exchange, to the bookseller's¹ there, where I hear of several new books coming out—Mr. Spratt's History of the Royal Society,² and Mrs. Phillips's³ poems. Sir John Denham's poems are all going to be printed together; and, among others, some new things; and among them he showed me a copy of verses of his upon Sir John Minnes's going heretofore to Bullogne to eat a pig.⁴ Cowley, he tells me, is dead; who, it seems, was a mighty civil, serious man; which I did not know before.⁵ Several good plays are likely to be abroad soon, as Mustapha and Henry the 5th.

¹ To Herringman's, at the Blue Anchor, in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange. He published Mrs. Phillips's Poems, Cowley's Poems, Davenant's Works, and was the great predecessor of Jacob Tonson. He died rich, and is buried under a handsome monument, at Chiselhurst, in Kent.

² By Thomas Sprat: then about to be published.

³ Catherine Fowler, wife of James Phillips, of Cardigan, and once celebrated as a distinguished poetess; best known as *the matchless Orinda*. She died at the early age of thirty-three, in 1664; but the praise of her contemporaries has not been sufficient to preserve her works from oblivion.

⁴ This was before the Restoration, when Sir John Minnes was at Calais.

⁵ We have here a striking instance of the slow communication of intelligence. Cowley died on the 28th of July, at Chertsey; and Pepys, though in London, and at all times a great newsmonger, did not learn till the 10th of August, that so distinguished a person was dead. Evelyn says that he attended Cowley's funeral on the 3rd of August, which shows that he did not keep his "Diary" entered up as regularly as our journalist, for the interment is thus recorded in the Register of Westminster Abbey:—"On the 17th of August, Mr. Cowley, a famous poet, was buried at the foot of the steps to Henry VII.'s Chapel." Cowley's corpse lay in state at Wallingford House, then the residence of the Duke of Buckingham.

[In "Notes and Queries," 4th series, x. p. 13, Colonel Chester writes respecting this note:—"Although Lord Braybrooke appears to have quoted the Abbey Register, it is clear that he really quoted from the version of it printed in the 'Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica,' vii. 374. In order to comprehend fully my further remarks, I give two consecutive entries from the burial register

11th. (Lord's day.) Up by four o'clock, and ready, with Mrs. Turner to take coach before five; and set on our journey, and got to the Wells at Barnett by seven o'clock, and there found many people a-drinking; but the morning is a very cold morning, so as we were very cold all the way in the coach. Here we met Joseph Batelier and W. Hewer also, and his uncle Steventon: so, after drinking three glasses and the women nothing, we back by coach to Barnett, where to the Red Lion, where we 'light, and went up to the great Room, and there drank, and eat some of the best cheese-cakes that ever I eat in my life, and so took coach again, and W. Hewer on horseback with us, and so to Hatfield, to the inn, next my Lord Salisbury's house, and there rested ourselves, and drank, and bespoke dinner; and so to church, it being just church-time. Did hear a most excellent good sermon, which pleased me mightily, and very devout; it being upon the designs of saving grace, where it is in a man, and one sign, which held him all this day, was, that where that grace was, there is also the grace of prayer, which he did handle very finely. In this church lies the former Lord of Salisbury, Cecil,¹ buried in a noble tomb. Then we to our inn, and there dined very well, and mighty merry; and walked out into the Park through the fine walk of trees, and to the Vineyard, and there showed them

of the Abbey, under the year 1667:—'August 3rd, Mr. Cowly, a famous Poet, was buried neare Mr. Chaucer's monument.' 'August 17th. The Countess of Clarendon was buried at the foot of the steps ascending to K. H. 7th's Chapel.'

"It will be seen that in the 'Collectanea,' these two entries were jumbled together, the name of the Countess of Clarendon being omitted altogether. . . . This mutilated copy misled the learned editor of Pepys into making a charge of inaccuracy against Evelyn, who it now appears was strictly correct." (M. B.)]

¹ Robert Cecil, the first Earl, son of the great Lord Burghley. He died in 1612.

that, which is in good order, and indeed a place of great delight; which, together with our fine walk through the Park, was of as much pleasure as could be desired in the world for country pleasure and good ayre. Being come back, and weary with the walk, the women had pleasure in putting on some straw hats, which are much worn in this country, and did become them mightily, but especially my wife. So, after resting awhile, we took coach again, and back to Barnett, where W. Hewer took us into his lodging, which is very handsome, and there did treat us very highly with cheesecakes, cream, tarts, and other good things; and then walked into the garden, which was pretty, and there filled my pockets full of filberts, and so with much pleasure. Among other things, I met in this house with a printed book of the Life of O. Cromwell,¹ to his honour as a soldier and politician, though as a rebell, the first of that kind that ever I saw, and it is well done. Took coach again, and got home with great content.

12th. To St. James's, where we find the Duke gone a-hunting with the King, but found Sir W. Coventry within, and he did largely discourse with us about our speedy falling upon considering of retrenchments in the expense of the Navy, which I will put forward as much as I can. So to the New Exchange, and there to my bookseller's, and did buy Scott's Discourse of Witches; and do hear Mr. Cowley mightily lamented his death, by Dr. Ward, the Bishop of Winchester,² and Dr. Bates,³ who were standing there, as the best poet of our nation, and as good a man. Thence I to the printseller's, over against the

¹ "The History of the Life and Death of Oliver Cromwell, the late Usurper and pretended Protector of England, &c., truly collected and published for a warning to all tyrants and usurpers, by I. H., Gent. London, printed for F. Coles, at the Lamb, in the old Bailey, 1663," 4to. pp. 22; reprinted in "Harl. Miscel." i. p. 279.

² Dr. George Morley.

³ See 23rd May, 1661, *ante*.

Exchange towards Covent Garden, and there bought a few more prints of cittys. So home, and my wife and maids being gone over the water to the whitster's¹ with their clothes, this being the first time of her trying this way of washing her linen, I dined at Sir W. Batten's, and after dinner, all alone to the King's playhouse, and there did happen to sit just before Mrs. Pierce, and Mrs. Knipp, who pulled me by the hair; and so I addressed myself to them, and talked to them all the intervals of the play, and did give them fruit. The play is "Brenoralt," which I do find but little in, for my part. Here was many fine ladies—among others, the German Baron, with his lady, who is envoy from the Emperor, and their fine daughter, which hath travelled all Europe over with them, it seems; and is accordingly accomplished, and, indeed, is a wonderful pretty woman. Here Sir Philip Frowde,² who sat next to me, did tell me how Sir H. Bellassis is dead, and that the quarrel between him and Tom Porter, who is fled, did arise in the ridiculous fashion that I was first told it, which is a strange thing between two so good friends. The play being done, I took the women, and Mrs. Corbett, who was with them, by coach, it raining, to Mrs. Manuel's, the Jew's widow, formerly a player, whom we heard sing with one of the Italians that was there; and, indeed, she sings mightily well, and just after the Italian manner, but yet do not please me like one of Mrs. Knipp's songs, to a good English tune, the manner of their ayre not pleasing me so well as the fashion of our own, nor so natural. Then home, and my wife come; and so, saying nothing where I had been, we to supper and pipe, and so to bed.

¹ Whitster: a bleacher of linen.

² Ob. August 6, 1674. There is a monument to Sir Philip Frowde in Bath Abbey Church. See *ante*, 6th June, 1666.

13th. Attended the Duke of York, with our usual business ; who, upon occasion, told us that he did expect this night or to-morrow to hear from Bredah of the consummation of the peace. Thence Sir W. Pen and I to the King's house, and there saw "The Committee," which I went to with some prejudice, not liking it before, but I do now find it a very good play, and a great deal of good invention in it ; but Lacy's part is so well performed that it would set off anything. The play being done, I to the office, and then home to my chamber to sing and pipe till my wife comes home from her washing, which was nine at night, and a dark and rainy night, that I was troubled at her staying out so long.

14th. At noon, my wife being gone to the whistler's again to her clothes, I to dinner to Sir W. Batten's. By and by to talk of our prize at Hull, and Sir W. Batten offering, again and again, seriously how he would sell his part for 1,000*l.*, and I considering the knavery of Hogg and his company, and the trouble we may have with the Prince Rupert about the consort ship, and how we are linked with Sir R. Ford, and then the danger of the sea, if it shall be brought about, or bad debts contracted in the sale, but chiefly to be eased of my fears about all or any of this, I did offer my part to him for 700*l.* With a little beating the bargain, we came to a perfect agreement for 666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, which is two-thirds of 1,000*l.*, which is my proportion of the prize. I went to my office full of doubts and joy concerning what I had done ; but, however, did put into writing the heads of our agreement, and we both signed them ; and Sir R. Ford, being come thither since, witnessed them. I away, satisfied, and to the King's playhouse, and there saw "The Country Captain," which is a very ordinary play.

15th. Sir W. Pen and I to the Duke's house,

where a new play. The King and Court there: the house full, and an act begun. And so went to the King's, and there saw "The Merry Wives of Windsor:" which did not please me at all, in no part of it.

16th. My wife and I to the Duke's playhouse, where we saw the new play acted yesterday, "The Feign Innocence, or Sir Martin Marr-all;" a play made by my Lord Duke of Newcastle, but, as every body says, corrected by Dryden.¹ It is the most entire piece of mirth, a complete farce from one end to the other, that certainly was ever writ. I never laughed so in all my life, and at very good wit therein, not fooling. The house full, and in all things of mighty content to me. To the New Exchange, where, at my bookseller's, I saw "The History of the Royal Society,"² which, I believe, is a fine book, and have bespoke one in quires. To my chamber, and read the history of 88³ in Speede, in order to my seeing the play thereof acted to-morrow at the King's house. Every body wonders that we have no news from Bredah of the ratification of the peace; and do suspect that there is some stop in it.

17th. All the morning at the office, and my head was full of the business of Carcassee, who has a hearing this morning before the Council and hath summoned at least thirty persons, and what is wonderful, a great many of them, I hear, do declare more against him than for him. Sure he is distracted. At noon to dinner, and presently my wife and I and Sir W. Pen to the King's playhouse, where the house extraordinary full; and there the King and Duke of York to see the new play, "Queen Elizabeth's

¹ Downes says that the Duke gave this comedy to Dryden, who adapted it to the stage; but it is entered on the books of the Stationers' Company as the production of his Grace.

² Spratt's.

³ 1588.

Troubles, and the History of Eighty Eight.”¹ I confess I have sucked in so much of the sad story of Queen Elizabeth, from my cradle, that I was ready to weep for her sometimes; but the play is the most ridiculous that sure ever came upon the stage; and, indeed, is merely a show, only shows the true garbe of the Queen in those days, just as we see Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth painted; but the play is merely a puppet play, acted by living puppets. Neither the design nor language better; and one stands by and tells us the meaning of things: only I was pleased to see Knipp dance among the milkmaids, and to hear her sing a song to Queen Elizabeth; and to see her come out in her night-gowne with no lockes on, but her bare face and hair only tied up in a knot behind; which is the comeliest dress that ever I saw her in to her advantage. Went as far as Mile End with Sir W. Pen, whose coach took him up there for his country-house; and after having drunk there, at the Rose and Crowne, a good house for Alderman Bide’s² ale, we parted.

18th. To Cree Church, to see it how it is; but I find no alteration there, as they say there was, for my Lord Mayor and Aldermen to come to sermon, as they do every Sunday, as they did formerly to Paul’s.³ Back home and to our own church, where a dull ser-

¹ Pepys here, as elsewhere, took the second title of the piece, as, perhaps, it appeared in the bills of the day. He alludes to the revival of a play by Thomas Heywood, originally printed in 1605, under the title of “If you know not me, you know nobody, or the Troubles of Queen Elizabeth,” which especially relates to the defeat of the Armada, in 1588. It was so popular that it went through eight or nine early editions. In 1667 it was no doubt brought out with some alterations, but probably not printed.

² John Bide, brewer, Sheriff of London in 1647.

³ The church of St. Catherine Cree, having escaped the fire, was resorted to by the Corporation after the destruction of St. Paul’s and so many other ecclesiastical edifices; and Pepys probably expected to see alterations made for their accommodation.

mon and our church empty of the best sort of people, they being at their country houses. There dined with me Mr. Turner and his daughter Betty. Betty is grown a fine young lady as to carriage and discourse. We had a good haunch of venison, powdered and boiled, and a good dinner. I walked towards White Hall, but, being weary, turned into St. Dunstan's Church, where I heard an able sermon of the minister¹ of the place; and stood by a pretty, modest maid, whom I did labour to take by the hand; but she would not, but got further and further from me; and, at last, I could perceive her to take pins out of her pocket to prick me if I should touch her again—which seeing I did forbear, and was glad I did spy her design. And then I fell to gaze upon another pretty maid in a pew close to me, and she on me; and I did go about to take her by the hand, which she suffered a little and then withdrew. So the sermon ended, and the church broke up, and my amours ended also. Took coach and home, and there took up my wife, and to Islington. Between that and Kingsland, there happened an odd adventure: one of our coach-horses fell sick of the staggers, so as he was ready to fall down. The coachman was fain to 'light, and hold him up, and cut his tongue to make him bleed, and his tail. The horse continued shaking every part of him, as if he had been in an ague, a good while, and the coachman thought and believed he would presently drop down dead; then he blew some tobacco in his nose, upon which the horse sneezed, and, by and by, grew well, and drew us the rest of our way, as well as ever he did; which was one of the strangest things of a horse I ever observed. It is the staggers. Staid and eat and drank at Islington, at the old house, and so home.

¹ John Thompson, vicar of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West.

19th. To the Duke of York's house, all alone, and there saw "Sir Martin Marr-all" again, though I saw him but two days since, and do find it the most comical play that ever I saw in my life. Mr. Moore do agree with most people that I meet with, that we shall fall into a commonwealth in a few years, whether we will or no; for the charge of a monarchy is such as the kingdom cannot be brought to bear willingly, nor are things managed so well now-a-days under it, as heretofore.

20th. Sir W. Coventry fell to discourse of retrenchments; and therein he tells how he would have but only one Clerk of the Acts. He do tell me he hath propounded how the charge of the Navy in peace shall come within 200,000*l.*, by keeping out twenty-four ships in summer, and ten in the winter. And several other particulars we went over of retrenchment: and I find I must provide some things to offer that I may be found studious to lessen the King's charge. We up to the Duke of York, but no money to be heard of—nay, not 100*l.* upon the most pressing service that can be imagined of bringing in the King's timber from Whittlewood,¹ while we have the utmost want of it. Sir W. Coventry did single out Sir W. Pen and me, and desired us to lend the King some money, out of the prizes we have taken by Hogg. He did not much press it, and we made but a merry answer thereto; but I perceive he did ask it seriously, and did tell us that there never was so much need of it in the world as now, we being brought to the lowest straits that can be in the world. This troubled me much. Thence, with my Lord Brouncker to the Duke's Playhouse, telling my wife so at the 'Change, where I left her, and there saw "Sir Martin Marr-all" again, which I have

¹ Whittlebury Forest.

now seen three times, and it has been acted but four times, and still find it a very ingenious play, and full of variety. My wife mighty pressing for a new pair of cuffs, which I am against the laying out of money upon yet, which makes her angry.

21st. Up, and my wife and I fell out about the pair of cuffs, which she has a mind to have to go to see the ladies dancing to-morrow at Betty Turner's school; and do vex me so that I am resolved to deny them her. However, by-and-by a way was found that she had them, and I well satisfied, being unwilling to let our difference grow higher upon so small an occasion and frowardness of mine. To the Commissioners of the Treasury, who do sit very close, and are bringing the King's charges as low as they can; but Sir W. Coventry did here again tell me that he is very serious in what he said to Sir W. Pen and me yesterday about our lending of money to the King; and says that people do talk that we had had the King's ships at his cost to take prizes, and that we ought to lend the King money more than other people. I did tell him I will consider it, and so parted; and do find I cannot avoid it. I sent my cozen Roger a tierce of claret, which I give him. This morning come two of Captain Cocke's boys, whose voices are broke, and are gone from the Chapel, but have extraordinary skill; and they and my boy, with his broken voice, did sing three parts; their names were Blaew and Loggings; but, notwithstanding their skill, yet to hear them sing with their broken voices, which they could not command to keep in tune, would make a man mad—so bad it was.

22nd. Up, and to the office; whence Lord Brouncker, J. Minnes, W. Pen, and I, went to examine some men that are put in there, for rescuing of men that were pressed into the service: and we do plainly see that the

desperate condition that we put men into for want of their pay, makes them mad, they being as good men as ever were in the world, and would as readily serve the King again, were they but paid. Two men leapt overboard, among others, into the Thames, out of the vessel into which they were pressed, and were shot by the soldiers placed there to keep them, two days since; so much people do avoid the King's service! And then these men are pressed without money, and so we cannot punish them for any thing, so that we are forced only to make a show of severity¹ by keeping them in prison, but are unable to punish them. Returning to the office, I did ask whether we might visit Commissioner Pett, to which, I confess, I have no great mind; and it was answered that he was a close prisoner, and we could not; but the Lieutenant of the Tower would send for him to his lodgings, if we would: so we put it off to another time. To Captain Cocke's to dinner; where Lord Brouncker and his Lady, Matt. Wren, and Bulteale, and Sir Allen Apsly; the last of whom did make good sport, he being already fallen under the retrenchments of the new Committee, as he is Master Falconer;² which makes him mad, and swears that we are doing what the Parliament would have done—that is, that we are now endeavouring to destroy one another. But it was well observed by some at the table, that they do not think this retrenchment of the King's charge will be so acceptable to the Parliament, they having given the King a revenue of so many 100,000*l.* a-year more than his predecessors had, that he might live in pomp, like a king. With my Lord Brouncker and his mistress to the

¹ Shooting the men was rather more than “a *show* of severity.”

² The post of Master Falconer was afterwards granted to Charles's son by Nell Gwyn, and it is still held by the Duke of St. Albans, as an hereditary office.

King's playhouse, and there saw "The Indian Emperour;" where I find Nell come again, which I am glad of; but was most infinitely displeased with her being put to act the Emperour's daughter, which is a great and serious part,¹ which she does most basely. The rest of the play, though pretty good, was not well acted by most of them, methought; so that I took no great content in it. But that, that troubled me most was, that Knipp sent by Moll² to desire to speak to me after the play; and she beckoned to me at the end of the play, and I promised to come; but it was so late, and I forced to step to Mrs. Williams's lodgings with my Lord Brouncker and her, where I did not stay, however, for fear of her showing me her closet, and thereby forcing me to give her something; and it was so late, that for fear of my wife's coming home before me, I was forced to go straight home, which troubled me. Anon, late, comes home my wife, with Mr. Turner and Mrs. Turner, with whom she supped, having been with Mrs. Turner to-day at her daughter's school, to see her daughters dancing, and the rest, which she says is fine. My wife very fine to-day, in her new suit of laced cuffs and perquisites. This evening Mr. Pelling comes to me, and tells me that this night the Dutch letters are come, and that the peace was proclaimed there the 19th inst., and that all is finished; which, for my life, I know not whether to be glad or sorry for, a peace being so necessary, and yet so bad in its terms.

23rd. Up, and Greeting comes, who brings me a tune for two flageolets, which we played, and is a tune

¹ Nell Gwyn's dislike to serious parts is commemorated in the Epilogue to the Duke of Lerma, spoken by her:—

"I know you, in your hearts,
Hate serious plays, as I hate serious parts."

² Orange Moll, mentioned, *ante*, August 29th, 1666.

played at the King's playhouse, which goes so well, that I will have more of them, and it will be a mighty pleasure for me to have my wife able to play a part with me, which she will easily, I find, do. Abroad to White Hall in a hackney-coach with Sir W. Pen ; and in our way, in the narrow street near Paul's, going the backway by Tower Street, and the coach being forced to put back, he was turning himself into a cellar,¹ which made people cry out to us, and so we were forced to leap out—he out of one, and I out of the other boote ;² *Query*, whether a glass-coach would have permitted us to have made the escape ? neither of us getting any hurt ; nor could the coach have got much hurt had we been in it ; but, however, there was cause enough for us to do what we could to save ourselves. So being all dusty, we put into the Castle tavern, by the Savoy, and there brushed ourselves. To White Hall, to attend the Council. The King there : and it was about considering how the fleete

¹ So much of London was yet in ruins.

² See "Notes and Queries," 2nd series, vol. viii. p. 238. "By the bye, Dean Trench says in his 'Select Glossary,' p. 23, 'I do not know the history of the word *boot*, as describing one part of a carriage, but it is plain that not the luggage, but the chief persons used once to ride in the *Boot*.'"

As so eminent an English scholar confesses his lack of information on this point, it may not be superfluous to mention that the "boots" were the two projections from the sides of the carriage, open to the air and in which the occupants were carried sideways. Such a "boot" is seen in the carriage containing the attendants of Queen Elizabeth, in Hoefnagel's well-known picture of Nonsuch Palace, dated 1582. Taylor, the Water Poet, the inveterate opponent of the introduction of coaches, thus satirizes the one in which he was forced to take his place as a passenger : "It wears two boots and no spurs, sometimes having two pairs of legs in one boot ; and oftentimes against nature most preposterously it makes fair ladies wear the boot. Moreover, it makes people imitate sea-crabs, in being drawn sideways, as they are when they sit in the boot of the coach."—C. KNIGHT, *Pictorial Half-hours*, vol. p. 56." (M. B.)

might be discharged at their coming in shortly, the peace being now ratified, and it takes place on Monday next. I to Westminster to the Exchequer, to see what sums of money other people will lend upon the Act; and find of all sizes from 1,000*l.* to 100*l.*—nay, to 50*l.*, and to 20*l.*, and to 5*l.* : for I find that one Dr. Reade, Doctor of Law, gives no more, and others of them 20*l.* ; which is a poor thing, methinks, that we should stoop so low as to borrow such sums. Upon the whole, I do think to lend, since I must lend, 300*l.*, though, God knows! it is much against my will to lend any, unless things were in better condition, and likely to continue so. To the Treasury-chamber, where I waited, talking with Sir G. Downing, till the Lords met. He tells me how he will make all the Exchequer officers, of one side and the other, to lend the King money upon the Act; and that the least clerk shall lend money, and he believes the least will 100*l.*: but this I do not believe. He made me almost ashamed that we of the Navy had not in all this time lent any; so that I find it necessary I should, and so will speedily do it, before any of my fellows begin, and lead me to a bigger sum. By and by the Lords come; and I perceive Sir W. Coventry is the man, and nothing done till he comes. Among other things, I hear him observe, looking over a paper, that Sir John Shaw is a miracle of a man, for he thinks he executes more places than any man in England; for there he finds him a Surveyor of some of the King's woods, and so reckoned up many other places, the most inconsistent in the world. Their business with me was to consider how to assigne such of our commanders as will take assignments upon the Act for their wages; and the consideration thereof was referred to me to give them an answer the next sitting: which is a horrid poor thing: but they scruple at nothing of honour in the case. So away, and called

my wife, and to the King's house, and saw "The Mayden Queene," which pleased us mightily; and then away, and took up Mrs. Turner at her door, and so to Mile End, and there drank, and so back to her house, it being a fine evening, and there supped. The first time I ever was there since they lived there; and she hath all things so neat and well done, that I am mightily pleased with her, and all she do. So here very merry, and then home and to bed. I find most people pleased with their being at ease, and safe of a peace, that they may know no more charge or hazard of an ill-managed war: but nobody speaking of the peace with any content or pleasure, but are silent in it, as of a thing they are ashamed of; no, not at Court, much less in the City.

24th. St. Bartholomew's day. This morning was proclaimed the peace¹ between us and the States of the United Provinces, and also the King of France and Denmarke; and in the afternoon the Proclamations were printed and came out; and at night the bells rung, but no bonfires that I hear of any where, partly from the dearness of firing, but principally from the little content most people have in the peace. After dinner we to a play, and there saw "The Cardinall" at the King's house, wherewith I am mightily pleased; but, above all, with Becke Marshall. But it is pretty to see how I look up and down for, and did spy Knipp; but durst not own it to my wife, for fear of angering her, and so I was forced not to take notice of her, and so homeward: and my belly now full with plays, that I do intend to bind myself to see no more till Michaelmas. Most of our discourse is about our keeping a coach the next year, which pleases my wife mightily; and if I continue as able as now, it will save us money. This day comes a letter from the

¹ See 9th August, *ante*.

Duke of York to the Board to invite us, which is as much as to fright us, into the lending the King money; which is a poor thing, and most dishonourable, and shows in what a case we are at the end of the war to our neighbours. And the King do now declare publickly to give 10 per cent. to all lenders; which makes some think that the Dutch themselves will send over money, and lend it upon our publick faith, the Act of Parliament.

25th. (Lord's day.) Up and to church, and thence home; and Pelling comes by invitation to dine with me, and much pleasant discourse with him. After dinner, away by water to White Hall, where I landed Pelling, who is going to his wife, where she is in the country, at Parson's Greene;¹ and myself to Westminster, and to the parish church, thinking to see Betty Michell; and did stay an hour in the crowd, thinking, by the end of a nose that I saw, that it had been her; but at last the head turned towards me, and it was her mother, which vexed me. So I back to my boat, which had broke one of her oars in rowing, and had now fastened it again; and so I up to Putney, and there stepped into the church, to look upon the fine people there, whereof there is great store, and the young ladies; and so walked to Barne-Elmes, whither I sent Russel,² reading of Boyle's Hydrostatickes, which are of infinite delight. I walked in the Elmes a good while, and then to my boat, and leisurely home, with great pleasure to myself; and there supped, and W. Hewer with us, with whom a great deal of good talk touching the Office, and so to bed.

26th. To the Office, where we sat upon a particular business all the morning: and my Lord Anglesey with us: who, and my Lord Brouncker, do bring us

¹ In the parish of Fulham, Middlesex.

² His waterman.

news how my Lord Chancellor's seal is to be taken away from him to-day. The thing is so great and sudden to me, that it put me into a very great admiration what should be the meaning of it ; and they do not own that they know what it should be : but this is certain, that the King did resolve it on Saturday, and did yesterday send the Duke of Albemarle, the only man fit for those works, to him for his purse : to which the Chancellor answered, that he received it from the King, and would deliver it to the King's own hand, and so civilly returned the Duke of Albemarle without it ; and this morning my Lord Chancellor is to be with the King, to come to an end in the business. Dined at Sir W. Batten's, where Mr. Boreman was, who came from White Hall ; who tells us that he saw my Lord Chancellor come in his coach with some of his men, without his Seal, to White Hall to his chamber ; and thither the King and Duke of York came and staid together alone, an hour or more : and it is said that the King do say that he will have the Parliament meet, and that it will prevent much trouble by having of him out of their enmity, by his place being taken away ; for that all their enmity will be at him. It is said also that my Lord Chancellor answers, that he desires he may be brought to his trial, if he have done any thing to lose his office ; and that he will be willing, and is most desirous, to lose that, and his head both together. Upon what terms they parted nobody knows : but the Chancellor looked sad, he says. Then in comes Sir Richard Ford, and says he hears that there is nobody more presses to reconcile the King and Chancellor than the Duke of Albemarle and Duke of Buckingham : the latter of which is very strange, not only that he who was so lately his enemy should do it, but that this man, that but the other day was in danger of losing his own head, should so soon come to be a mediator for others :

it shows a wise Government. They all say that he [Clarendon] is but a poor man, not worth above 3,000*l.* a-year in land; but this I cannot believe: and all do blame him for having built so great a house, till he had got a better estate. So I walked to the King's playhouse, and saw "The Surprizall,"¹ a very mean play, I thought: or else it was because I was out of humour, and but very little company in the house. Sir W. Pen and I had a great deal of discourse with Moll; who tells us that Nell is already left by my Lord Buckhurst, and that he makes sport of her, and swears she hath had all she could get of him; and Hart,² her great admirer, now hates her: and that she is very poor, and hath lost my Lady Castlemaine, who was her great friend also: but she is come to the House, but is neglected by them all.³

27th. Up, and am invited betimes to be godfather to-morrow to Captain Poole's child with my Lady Pen and Lady Batten, which I accepted out of complaisance to them, and so to the office. Then to St. James's, where we waited on the Duke of York, but did little business, and he, I perceive, his head full of other business, and of late has not been very ready to be troubled with our business. To White Hall, and there hear how it is like to go well enough with my Lord Chancellor; that he is like to keep his Seal, desiring that he may stand his trial in Parliament, if they will accuse him of any thing. Here Sir J. Minnes and I looking upon the pictures; and Mr. Cheffins,⁴ being by, did take us, of his own accord, into the King's closet, to show us some pictures,

¹ A comedy, by Sir Robert Howard. ² The celebrated actor.

³ The King afterwards took her into keeping. His son by her was born 8th May, 1670, and was subsequently made Duke of St. Albans. It may be well doubted if Charles were indeed the father. See also note, 28th September, 1667, *post*.

⁴ William Chiffinch, noticed April 8, 1866, *ante*.

which, indeed, is a very noble place, and exceeding great variety of brave pictures, and the best hands. I could have spent three or four hours there well, and we had great liberty to look : and Cheffins seemed to take pleasure to show us, and commend the pictures. I to visit Colonel Fitzgerald,¹ who hath been sick at Woolwich, where most of the officers and soldiers quartered there, since the Dutch being in the river, have died or been sick, and he among the rest ; and, by the growth of his beard and gray hairs, I did not know him. His desire to speak with me was about the late command for my paying no more pensions for Tangier. This day, Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, was with me ; and tells me how this business of my Lord Chancellor's was certainly designed in my Lady Castlemaine's chamber ; and that, when he went from the King on Monday morning, she was in bed, though about twelve o'clock, and ran out in her smock into her aviary looking into White Hall ; and thither her woman brought her, her nightgown ; and stood joying herself at the old man's going away : and several of the gallants of White Hall, of which there were many staying to see the Chancellor return, did talk to her in her bird-cage ; among others, Blancford,² telling her she was the bird of paradise.³

28th. Up ; and staid undressed till my tailor's boy did mend my vest, in order to my going to the christening anon. To White Hall, to attend the Council, by their order, with an answer to their demands touching our advice for the paying off of the seamen, when their ships shall come in, which answer is worth seeing, showing the badness of our condi-

¹ Deputy-Governor of Tangier.

² See note, Feb. 3, 1664-5, *ante*.

³ See Clarendon's account of this scene, "Life," vol. iii. p. 32, 8vo, 1761.

tion. There, when I came, I was forced to stay till past twelve, in a crowd of people in the lobby, expecting the hearing of the great cause of Alderman Barker¹ against my Lord Deputy of Ireland, for his ill usage in his business of land there; but the King and Council sat so long, as they neither heard them nor me. So when they rose, I into the House, and saw the King and Queen at dinner, and heard a little of their viallins' musick, and so home. In the afternoon with my Lady Batten, Pen, and her daughter, and my wife, to Mrs. Poole's, where I mighty merry among the women, and christened the child, a girl, Elizabeth, which, though a girl, yet my Lady Batten would have me to give the name. After christening comes Sir W. Batten, W. Pen, and Mr. Lowther, and mighty merry there, and I forfeited for not kissing the two godmothers presently after the christening, before I kissed the mother, which made good mirth; and so anon away, and my wife and I went twice round Bartholomew fayre; which I was glad to see again, after two years missing it by the plague.

29th. Mr. Moore tells me that my Lord Crew and his friends take it very ill of me that my Lord Sandwich's sea-fee should be retrenched, and so reported from this Office, and I give them no notice of it. The thing, though I know it to be false—at least, that nothing went from our office towards it—yet it troubled me, and therefore I went and dined with my Lord Crew, and I did enter into that discourse, and laboured to satisfy him; but found, though he said little, yet that he was not yet satisfied; but after dinner did pray me to go and see how it was, whether true or no. Did tell me that if I was not their friend, they could trust to nobody, and that he did not

¹ William Barker, who married Martha, daughter of William Turner, and widow of Daniel Williams. His son William was created a Baronet in 1676.

there, whom I had not a mind should see me there idle upon a post-night, I went home without seeing him; but he is there with his Seal in his hand. This day, being dissatisfied with my wife's learning so few songs of Goodgroome, I did come to a new bargain with him to teach her songs at so much, viz., 10s. a song, which he accepts of, and will teach her.

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forget my service and love to my Lord, and adventures for him in dangerous times, and therefore would not willingly doubt me now ; but yet asked my pardon if, upon this news, he did begin to fear it. This did mightily trouble me : so I away thence to White Hall, but could do nothing. In the evening to White Hall again, and there met Sir Richard Browne, Clerk to the Committee for retrenchments, who assures me no one word was ever yet mentioned about my Lord's salary ; and the mistake ended very merrily, and to all our contents. I find at Sir G. Carteret's that they do mightily joy themselves in the hopes of my Lord Chancellor's getting over this trouble ; and I make them believe, and so, indeed, I do believe he will, that my Lord Chancellor is become popular by it. I find by all hands that the Court is at this day all to pieces, every man of a faction of one sort or other, so as it is to be feared what it will come to. But that, that pleases me is, I hear to-night that Mr. Brouncker is turned away yesterday by the Duke of York, for some bold words he was heard by Colonel Werden¹ to say in the garden, the day the Chancellor was with the King—that he believed the King would be hector'd out of everything. For this the Duke of York, who all say hath been very strong for his father-in-law at this trial, hath turned him away : and every body, I think, is glad of it ; for he was a pestilent rogue, an atheist, that would have sold his King and country for 6*d.* almost, so covetous and wicked a rogue he is, by all men's report. But one observed to me, that there never was the occasion of men's holding their tongues at Court and everywhere else as there is at this day, for nobody knows which side will be uppermost.

¹ Colonel Werden afterwards held office under James II. and Queen Mary. His eldest son, John, was created a Baronet in 1672. See note to June 23, 1667, *ante*.

30th. At White Hall I met with Sir G. Downing, who tells me of Sir W. Pen's offering to lend 500*l.*; and I tell him of my 300*l.* which he would have me to lend upon the credit of the latter part of the Act; saying, that by that means my 10 per cent. will continue to me the longer. But I understand better, and will do it upon the 380,000*l.* which will come to be paid the sooner; there being no delight in lending money now, to be paid by the King two years hence. But here he and Sir William Doyly were attending the Council as Commissioners for sick and wounded, and prisoners: and they told me their business, which was to know how we shall do to release our prisoners; for it seems the Dutch have got us to agree in the treaty, as they fool us in anything, that the dyet of the prisoners on both sides shall be paid for, before they be released; which they have done, knowing ours to run high, they having more prisoners of ours than we have of theirs; so that they are able and most ready to discharge the debt of theirs, but we are neither able nor willing to do that for ours, the debt of those in Zealand only, amounting to above 5,000*l.* for men taken in the King's own ships, besides others taken in merchantmen, who expect, as is usual, that the King should redeem them; but I think he will not, by what Sir G. Downing says. This our prisoners complain of there; and say in their letters, which Sir G. Downing showed me, that they have made a good feat that they should be taken in the service of the King, and the King not pay for their victuals while prisoners for him. But so far they are from doing thus with their men, as we do to discourage ours, that I find in the letters of some of our prisoners there, which he showed me, that they have with money got our men, that they took, to work and carry their ships home for them; and they have been well rewarded, and released

when they came into Holland : which is done like a noble, brave, and wise people. To Walthamstow, to Sir W. Pen's by invitation ; a very bad dinner, and everything suitable, that I never knew people in my life that make their flutter, that do things so meanly. I was sick to see it, but was merry at some ridiculous humours of my Lady Batten, who, as being an ill-bred woman, would take exceptions at anything any body said, and I made good sport at it. Into the garden and wilderness, which is like the rest of the house, nothing in order, nor looked after. By and by comes newes that my Lady Viner was come to see Mrs. Lowther, and all the pleasure I had here was to see her, which I did, and saluted her, and find she is pretty, though not so eminently so as people talked of her, and of very pretty carriage and discourse. Leaving my wife to come home with them, I to Bartholomew fayre, to walk up and down ; and there, among other things find my Lady Castlemaine at a puppet-play, " Patient Grizill,"¹ and the street full of people expecting her coming out. I confess I did wonder at her courage to come abroad, thinking the people would abuse her ; but they, silly people ! do not know the work she makes, and therefore suffered her with great respect to take coach, and she away, without any trouble at all. I, among others, saw Tom Pepys, the turner, who has a shop, and I think, lives in the fair when the fair is not. Captain Cocke tells me that there is yet expectation that the Chancellor will lose the Seal ; and assures me that there have been high words between the

¹ The well-known story, first told by Boccaccio, then by Petrarca, afterwards by Chaucer, and which has since become proverbial. Tom Warton, writing about 1770, says, " I need not mention that it is to this day represented in England, on a stage of the lowest species, and of the highest antiquity : I mean at a puppet show."—*Hist. of English Poetry*, sect. xv.

Duke of York and Sir W. Coventry, for his being so high against the Chancellor; so as the Duke of York would not sign some papers that he brought, saying that he could not endure the sight of him: and that Sir W. Coventry answered, that what he did was in obedience to the King's commands; and that he did not think any man fit to serve a Prince, that did not know how to retire and live a country life.

31st. At the office all the morning; where, by Sir W. Pen, I do hear that the Seal was fetched away to the King yesterday from the Lord Chancellor by Secretary Morrice; which puts me into a great horror. My Lord Brouncker tells me that he hath of late discoursed about this business with Sir W. Coventry, who he finds is the great man in the doing this business of the Chancellor's, and that he do persevere in it, though against the Duke of York's opinion, to which he says that the Duke of York was once of the same mind, and that if he had thought fit since, for any reason, to alter his mind, he hath not found any to alter his own, and so desires to be excused, for it is for the King's and kingdom's good. And it seems that the Duke of York himself was the first man that did speak to the King of this, though he hath since altered his mind; and that W. Coventry did tell the Duke of York that he was not fit to serve a Prince that did not know how to retire, and live a private life; and that he was ready for that, if it be his and the King's pleasure. In the evening, Mr. Ball, of the Excise-office, tells me that the Seal is delivered to Sir Orlando Bridgeman; the man of the whole nation that is the best spoken of, and will please most people; and therefore I am mighty glad of it. He was then at my Lord Arlington's, whither I went, expecting to see him come out; but staid so long, and Sir W. Coventry coming

